



The Illustrious JAMES Duke
of Ormond

Hulett Sculp

G. Kneller pin

M E M O I R S

O F T H E

L I F E

Of his G R A C E,

J A M E S,

L A T E

Duke of O R M O N D,

Formerly Captain-General and Com-
mander in Chief of the Forces of
Great Britain.

Extracted from his own private M E M O I R S, lately
printed at the *Hague*, in *French*; and now first
translated into *English*.



L O N D O N :

Printed by and for J. STANTON, in *Fleet-Lane*.

M D C C X X X V I I I .

MEMOIRS

LIFE

JAMES



THE INTRODUCTION.



THE History of a Life, blended with so great a Prosperity, and so much the Reverse, as the Person's we now enter upon, must naturally excite the Curiosity of all, to hear the Particulars thereof.

This Gentleman was once the Idol of the British Nation, and happy, in being the Favourite of a Princess, who was anxious, and made it her chief Study to heap Favours upon him; but reverse the Scene, and you see him now accusing his Native Country of the highest Ingratitude;

gratitude; even banish'd from it, and obliged to seek an Asylum in the very Nation, and among those People, where he had formerly appeared in a hostile Manner, and used them as the worst of Enemies; which renders him the most unhappy of Mortals.

As the Occurrences of a Life, replete with so many extraordinary Vicissitudes, must be agreeable to most Readers; Some of the Duke's own Memoirs having come to hand (by being publish'd in French, at Holland) we thought proper to put them together in the following Order.

And as Love often excites Men to the greatest Actions, we hope our Readers will not think it amiss that we begin these Memoirs with his Lordship's first darling Passion; and the rather, because it was partly the Introduction to the high State of Life in which he afterwards appeared.

THE



T H E
L I F E
Of the Late
DUKE of ORMOND.



Was born in *Ireland*, at the Time when *Charles* the II^d. ascended the Throne of *Great Britain*: My Country (after having been a long Time torn by Civil Wars, and many famous Revolutions, which had made it almost desolate) readily began to relish the Pleasures of a quiet, and happy Reign: The Crown was now in Possession of the right Heir, and every one strove, by a sincere Affection for the new King, to make some Reparation for the barbarous Cruelties which were exercised upon his Predecessor.

It was in the Reign of this Prince, that my Grandfather was made a Duke, and Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*. My Father dying during my Minority, and before he came to the Title, and as I was the eldest Hopes and Heir of the Family, nothing was omitted that could inspire me with Sentiments worthy of my Rank, by a proper Education. When I grew up to Years of Maturity, I shew'd an Inclination to Martial Discipline, that appeared extraordinary in a Youth of my Age; which Disposition gave my Grand-father a sensible Pleasure, he looking on it as a fortunate Omen: As my Age increased, my Ardour was rous'd at every Mention that was made of War, and my young Heart sensibly enlarged.

Nevertheless, the Tranquility which then subsisted, not permitting me to give myself up to that Desire that had inflamed me, my Grand-father sent me to *London* under the Direction of a Governour. The Rank I held, gave me free Admittance to all the principal Houses in Town; nor had I been long there, before I was acquainted with all the most distinguished Personages. My Youth, and agreeable Mein, made me universally admired, and gave them a high Opinion of me in every Part of Politeness, and Address.

Among my Acquaintance, my Lady R---- was one that had the chief of my Esteem, for though her Charms had lost their Attraction, and she was past the Age of Pleasure, her Wit was so enlivening, and her

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Conversation so agreeable, as rendered her much the best Company in *London*.

The beauteous Daughter of my Lady C--- did not fail coming there every Night with her Mother ; her Beauty drew thither a Number of young Gentlemen, who formed an Assembly ; through this Freedom of Access, my Curiosity induced me to go, which I no sooner had satisfied, than I found that simple Curiosity was follow'd by the most violent Love that could be imagined.

I then could do nothing but speak in Praise of her Beauty, and soon found what an Effect it had upon me: She was about the Age of fifteen or sixteen Years, her Stature of the middle Size, her Eyes inclinable to the large, blew, and sparkling, her Complexion Lillies and Roses blended, her Lips smiling and ruddy, and though a fair Lady, yet had she all the natural Vivacity of a *Brunette*: in short, so charming was the View, in which my Eyes beheld her, that I could think of nothing else.

My Lady R----- was the first to present me to the Mother and the Daughter, Will you said she, (addressing herself to the latter) admit a young Nobleman, whom your Beauty has invited to us, and who for a long Time has sigh'd out his tedious Moments? If the Portrait that has been made him of your Desert answer the Idea he has formed, *Madam*, (then said I) embolden'd by my Lady R---'s Address, though a simple Curiosity only at

first incited me to pay my Devoirs to so amiable a Person, the Impression you have already made may assure you of my Homage, and you'll find that I shall be proud to encrease the Number of your Admirers, and I shall endeavour to deserve the Title, by a sincere Devotion: It is true continued I, encouraged by my Lady R---, and as her Mother had left one with her, by my Rashness I may perhaps hazard the Favour of so perfect a Beauty, and that your Charms may bind me in eternal Chains; though those very Chains will be the Boast and Happiness of the Wearer: And I think it the first Step to Happiness, that with Impunity I dare be bold to shew how great's my Admiration of such heavenly Charms.

You confuse me, my Lord (replied she) I don't deserve any of those flattering Elogies, which you so profusely lavish on me; nor can I apprehend what you would have me believe, and therefore beg you would have done with this vain Discourse. Immediately upon this, my Lady R--- joined us, and we went with her, and she interrupted us from saying any more, by praising the Modesty of *Clarinda*, for that was the Name of my Lord's lovely Daughter, and very impartially did she bestow her Praises, and the Remainder of our Conversation turned upon indifferent Matters; the Assembly increas'd by little and little, while she retired on one Side, and I to the other.

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The Love that thus began, penetrated my Soul, and flung me into a profound Melancholy: *Clarinda* was standing with her Mother, I could not forbear casting frequent Glances that Way, and the more I looked, the more those Looks increased the growing Passion, with which I was inspired: On the contrary, she never bestow'd one Look on my Side during the whole Party; which Indifference made me conclude my Amour would be attended with much Difficulty, notwithstanding I resolved to pursue it. I had already touched her young Heart, she returned to my Side, and I afterwards found Love had made no less Progress with her than with me.

All the Night we passed in Mirth, and general Topicks of Conversation; I praised her easy Air, and I found by her Attention, that she had conceived a good Opinion of my praising her: The Hope I entertained by *Clarinda's* approving my Discourse, and the sensible Pleasure, which by her Eyes I perceived she felt, seemed in Imagination to gratify my utmost Desires. *Clarinda*, whom Love had already touched in my Favour, appear'd a little disordered; and I perceived her Eyes fixed on me, while she in return, often surprized me looking at her: After some little Time, she retired with her Mother, and I paid my Devoirs to my Lady R---, who asked me, if I was pleased with my Night's Entertainment, and if I ever saw a more beautiful Person than *Clarinda*: I replied, nothing could

could be more agreeable, and after having paid the usual Compliments, I returned home.

The Impatience I was in to see again the fair *Clarinda*, made the next Day seem extremely long a coming, and then I went again to the Assembly; resolved to explain myself to *Clarinda*, and pay her a Compliment of the first Fondness my Heart ever felt; but my Measures were disconcerted by her Mother's Indisposition, which prevented her coming to my Lady R---: Her not coming was a great Disadvantage to my Amour. With Abundance of Inquietude, I returned the next Morning to my Lady R---, who told me, that the Indisposition of *Clarinda's* Mother was sudden, and would not long deprive me of her Absence, and that she did not fear, but a better Hour would interpose to my Satisfaction: This Answer quieted me a little, and seemed to banish my Sorrow, she invited me to stay Dinner, which I the more willingly accepted, because I was in Hopes it would give me an Opportunity to see my dear *Clarinda*: During the Dinner, my Lady spoke so advantageously of her Beauty, and gave me so lively a Portrait of her Wit and Behaviour, as more excited the Love I had before conceived. I sincerely told her the Sentiments she had inspired me with, and that it was impossible for me to deny, and in vain to dissemble, the Progress she had made in my Esteem: She assured me, she

She was worthy of my Esteem, and by much more pleasing Discourse of her, redoubled the Passion which was before too strong for me to bear.

We had no sooner ended our Discourse, than *Clarinda* and her Mother entered the Room: I complimented her on her Recovery, and then paid my Respects to her charming Daughter. My Lady R--- informed her how uneasy I had been to hear of her Illness, and how rejoiced to be informed of her Health, and after several Compliments of the like Nature, conducted her to a Cabinet, adjoining to the Apartment we were in. This Behaviour of my Lady R--- charmed me, it gave me an Opportunity to declare myself to *Clarinda*, and I resolved not to let slip the favourable Minute. Madam said I, I beg you would not go to amuse yourself with Trifles in a Cabinet, but give me Leave first to tell you the lasting Impression your Charms have made on me, and know that I feel the strongest Power of Love. I can assure you, lovely *Clarinda*! no Person can regard you with a greater or more durable Esteem than mine; in fine, my Love's of such a Sort, that I shall never survive my Despair, if your fair Eyes do not ease the Anguish they have occasion'd in my Soul. Speak my fair Charmer, answer me, decide my Fate for Life, or Death!

If my little Beauty my Lord, answered she, has had the Effects you express, which I can't so soon believe; neither is it proper I should

should give too much regard to such flattering Speeches, but as I am in doubt, permit me but to examine my Heart, and Spite of Reason I must own, you have inspired my Heart with a Gladness, which you seem to wish for; and I assure you, that the Love of which you speak, has had more Effect upon me, than thousands I have heard on the same Subject, and now compare the difference of my Sentiments with those you have express'd.

What Pleasure did these Words of *Clarinda* give me, my Heart was rich in Content, and I was about to answer and convince her of my Passion, when her Mother and my Lady R---- left the Cabinet and came to us, and prevented our further Discourse; however, I waited with great Tranquility; my Lady demanded if we were not weary of waiting by our selves: I replied, that the Company of *Clarinda*, was a Charm to banish all Uneasiness, in the room of which, the Graces and the Loves succeeded and constant Joy attended her; my Lord is gallant, replied she, and tho' young, has all the Address of those who are of riper Age; I can't say, replied I, my Lady! but I am inspired with some little Gallantry, but *Clarinda's* Eyes first taught me; the Mother was extremely pleased with the Compliments I paid her Daughter.

My Lady R---- charm'd me with her Behaviour in my Amour. I could not but re-
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mark the Goodness of that Lady, who different from all others of her Age, took a Delight to see other Persons pleased. The Company increasing, a Table and Cards were called; and I was desirous of sitting near *Clarinda*, that I might have the better Opportunity of speaking freely to her; Fortune favoured my Wishes, and in her Discourse she gave me to understand, that our Tenderness was mutual, and that transported me; we pass'd all that Evening in repeated Assurances of eternal Tenderness, till we were obliged to part. I promised to wait on my Grandfather to obtain his leave for our Marriage, nor had I any Doubt of his Consent, since she was not only the most agreeable Person in *England*, but of a Quality equal to mine; my Joy was so sensible in my Eyes, that my Governor perceived it; and having acquainted him with the Cause, he counselled me not to proceed contrary to the Will of my Grandfather, upon which we resolv'd to go to *Ireland*. As soon as we arrived, I immediately saluted my Grandfather in Company with my Governor, and I was in hopes he would have mentioned to me something of my Amour, but he omitted it then, and the next Day sending for me to his Closet, he ordered me to quit all thoughts of such a ridiculous Passion, unless I would incur his highest Displeasure. This sudden Shock overcame me, and Death which I continually called to assist me, was the only Con-

Consolation I would receive; in this Dilemma I wrote to my Lady R---- and received an Answer, to which *Clarinda* had added this Postscript. *I am sorry for the Uneasiness you have given my Lord your Grandfather, if my Love is of any Consequence to you, pray admit of Comfort, attend with Patience, 'till time shall change our Misfortunes---my only Love,*

Adieu.

These Lines were an Elixir to my Grief, till my Grandfather from his Window perceived the Person that brought my Letters, and imagining it to be something relating to my Love; he intercepted a Letter from my Lady R----- and counterfeited one, which was delivered to me, purporting that *Clarinda* was upon the point of Marriage with another, I resolved to take the first Opportunity to go to *London*, and satisfy my jealous Rage by sacrificing my happy Rival.

Things were in this Situation when my Grandfather was deprived of his Lieutenancy of *Ireland*: K. *James* the Second had ascended the Throne in the room of his Brother, and the new King conceived it necessary to his Design of rendring himself absolute to change the Chief People in the Government.

This Removal in the Family, was looked upon as a Disgrace, but I regarded it as a Happiness, because it gave me an Opportunity of avenging my injured Love, for we

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were speedily to go for *London*; this Event made me forget the Hardships I had endured at Home, and it was some Ease to think, that the first Emotion of my Grief was past.

We were not long before we arrived at the Capital, and I ran to my Lady R——, who not knowing of my Grandfather's Disgrace, was extremely surpriz'd to see me. I beg'd her to inform me of *Clarinda*, and who was the fortunate Rival she had preferr'd to me. She soon made the Fraud appear to me, and informed me *Clarinda* was so ill that her Life was despaired of.

My Grandfather's business was to get Information why he was recalled, and I had all the Liberty I could desire; and being touch'd with *Clarinda's* Illness, resolved to introduce myself to her, my Lady R—— promised me to ask leave of her Mother that I might go and see her; Love and *Clarinda's* Illness employed my whole Soul, I trembled for her and not my Grandfather's Disgrace, I beg'd of her Mother to grant me one last Interview. Alas ! my Lord, says she, what do you ask, she is now almost beyond all Hopes of Life, and your Presence would cause such an Emotion as might end it directly, and absolutely denied me; but being determin'd to see her, I applied to her Physician, and was introduced as him. I was not known to any of the Servants of the House, and passed safe in that Habit to the Chamber of *Clarinda*; the
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Roses of her Cheeks, were turned to a pale Deadness, and all the Beauties that before adorn'd her, now rested only in her Eyes, which spite of the Disease, retained their native Fire, which turning towards me, she cried, surprized, Is it you my Lord? What would you have? What brought you here? My Love (reply'd I) I love you and ever shall retain my Passion. Alas! my Lord, said she, draw near. I now approach the last Remains of Life, preserve your wonted Ardour, live content, and think no more of me, one Moment more and we must separate; receive in this Sigh, the Remnant of a Life which has been alone preserved for you, and by this, retain within your Heart my Tenderness and Love. And saying this, she turned her Face to the other Side, and died.

Thus died the most beautiful Lady in *England*, and the most faithful of Lovers. I can't speak the Pain I felt at taking this last Adieu, it suspended all the Faculties of both Soul and Body.

I was in this Condition when my Lady R--- arrived, a little after the Death of *Clarinda*, and was surprized to see one in that Character; for I remained in the Habit of the Physician, which was my first Introduction to her. The Family was in the utmost Astonishment, I was found lying upon the Bed, and the Medicine by me: nor did I quit the Habit the whole Night: The whole

whole House was alarmed, and being apprised who was the false Physician, it was related to my Lord C--- her Father, who joined with me in a Grief that would draw Tears from all the World: In short I remained insensible 'till next Morning, and I was so touched with the Death of my dear *Clarinda*, that it was impossible for me to receive Nourishment of any Sort. I remain'd in this Condition, and did not imagine I could long survive my dear *Clarinda*; nor could I, in this Situation endure the Light; but upon my reflecting to myself, and the Endearments of my Grand-father, joined with the good Advice of my Governour, tending to persuade me of the Unprofitableness of Grief, I was resolved to live, and preserve the Love and Fidelity I had vow'd to my dear *Clarinda*. How different were my Sentiments? The Report of her Marriage was more grievous to me than her Death, and I was not so much afflicted at her Decease, as to hear she was in the Arms of another.

At last being a little relieved from my Illness and Grief, my Grand-father made me inspect all the domestick Affairs. His Lieutenantcy was given to the Earl of *Clarendon*, and then I began to be sensible of the Disgrace. I entered into the Secrets of the House, and quitted Love, to follow Glory and Honour. About this Time I was made Captain of a Troop of Life-Guards, and

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though my Grand-father was deprived of his Lieutenancy, the King who had taken it without any Reason, strove all he could to make him conformable to his Designs, and endeavoured to persuade him that he would not lose any Thing by the Change.

The King had (as I have observed) two grand Projects to put in Execution, and therefore gave all the Places of Importance to those Persons, whom he imagined to be intirely devoted to his Interest; the first of his Projects, was to render himself absolute over the whole Kingdom, and the second, to make it wholly acknowledge the Catholick Religion.

The Earl of *Clarendon* was but a little Time after my Grand-father, e'er he was supplanted by *Tyrconnel*, who was a red hot Catholick, and obtained that Post by means of the Queen, and Father *Peters*, a Jesuit and Confessor to her Majesty.

The first Step the King took towards his grand Design, was, in permitting the Catholicks, in spite of the Parliament's Refusal, to make a Publication of the Exercise of their Religion throughout the Realm. The Jesuits immediately reaped an Advantage of the King's Good-will: For they are commonly the first to reap the Benefits of pernicious Counsels. They next proceeded to erect Colleges and Seminaries in all the principal Towns, the Friars appeared publickly in the Habits of their Order, and we looked upon the

the different Masques, as the Prefage of a Carnival, which would shortly be fixed for a longer Continuance; nay, they were so very bold, as to shew themselves in Procession in most of the great Streets of *London*, and were attended by a large Number of Converts, and a great many of their Companions, all to carry on the great Work.

About this Time, the King formed a Camp of 15000 Men, at *Hounslow*, between *London* and *Windsor*, under the Command of the Earl of *Feversham*. The Vigour with which I applied to the military Exercise, soon made me acquainted with all the principal Officers of the Camp, where Mass was said in a publick Chappel; but the Number of Catholick Officers and Soldiers, was less than the Chappel, though that was but small, and very little frequented; for military Men are but seldom Devotees; nor did it appear that there were many Converts in the Army; but notwithstanding this, it was thought they were disposed to assist the King in his Designs: To prevent which, one of his Ministers more zealous than the rest, addressed him in Writing to let him know, he would never serve as an Instrument, to overthrow the Established Religion, and subvert the Government: But this zealous Minister was not approved of at Court; but his Behaviour was looked upon, more as *Rudeness*, than *Merit*.

Every one, now, no longer doubted the

King's Designs, he seemed to have thrown the Mask quite aside, and was not content publickly to espouse the *Romish* Religion; but ordered it to be openly professed by all his Ladies, and propos'd it to my Grand-father and me, desiring us to embrace it; but we were of a Resolution not to yield in any Way, to sacrifice our Conscience to our Interest; yet he succeeded in Regard to the Earl of *S---der---*, who gave him this convincing Proof of his Attachment: and all others whom he could not prevail upon, felt the Effects of his Revenge; for he deprived them of all the Places they enjoyed.

The Embassy which was then sent to *Rome*, to reconcile the three Kingdoms to the *Holy See*, afforded us a very diverting Comedy. The Earl of *Cas---m---* was charged with that Commission. That Embassy (as we were informed) was the Effect of the Counsels of the *Jesuits*, who would fain have it believed throughout all *Europe*, that they had converted the Three Kingdoms. My Brother was at *Rome* at the same Time as the Ambassador, though he made the Voyage only for Pleasure, we had an Opportunity of being informed through that Canal, of the Reception they met with. *Innocent* the XIth, then was in the pontifical Chair, and hear what my Brother wrote concerning that Affair:

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The Pope being well apprized, that this Journey was undertaken by the Advice of the Jesuits, and as they were not much beloved by him, He treated our Ambassador in an exceeding cold Manner, as if he had done him some great Injury; he very well knew that this Embassy was carried too far; and that it would avail but little to the Conversion of the Three Kingdoms; and so that serious Proceeding was turned into Ridicule, nor was it possible to succeed in any Part. Every Time my Lord C——m——n demanded an Audience, he met with nothing but a Repulse; till at last my Lord took a great Disgust at his Commission, and I was informed that he designed to return home: I don't know how it was, he made all the Advances possible, to engage the Pope to give him Audience; but he was as far as ever from succeeding. 'Twas said, that the holy Father, knowing his Design, would give him no Answer, and therefore he took Advice, and departed in the Morning, to avoid his Resentment; and after lying hid all the Day, made the best of his Way from Italy.

This ridiculous Embassy, and the ill Success it met with, afforded us sufficient Cause of Laughter at this Expedition, and which did not a little thwart the King in his Designs: The Jesuits were entirely Masters of his Will, and indeed ruled the Nation in his Name. 'Tis the Grand Policy of these Gentlemen, they never insinuate themselves into
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the Favour of any Prince; but they generally gain their Point. The King's Credulity, and the Counsels of this ambitious Society, did not a little contribute to the Loss of this Kingdom.

My Father who had not concern'd himself with any thing relating to the Government since his being recall'd from *Ireland*, was obliged to oppose a Thing, that rendered us still worse in the King's Opinion, and confirmed him in the Opinion that we did not approve of his Designs. The Death of the President of the University of *Oxford*, made that Place vacant, when this was the first Time the King shew'd his Desire of introducing into the Universities, his Friends the Catholics: Accordingly a Mandate was issued to elect one *Anthony Farmer* (a Man of bad Reputation) in the Room of Doctor *Clarke*, when my Father, who was Chancellor of the University, joined with the Vice-President to fix a Day for the Election, and then in a legal Manner assembled the Members of the University, who by a Majority of Voices elected Doctor *Hough*, and he was accordingly put in Possession thereof.

That Election so extremely incens'd the King against my Father, that he only wanted a plausible Pretence to destroy him; nevertheless the Queen prevailed upon him not to annul the Election, but to bestow it on one of her Creatures: This Affair terribly embarrassed the Members of the College; they

dreaded

dreaded to refuse the King to execute his Orders, yet were griev'd to see their Places bestowed on Roman Catholicks.

Another Sight very surprizing to us at this Time, was to behold the Pope's Nuntio, who, (though it was high Treason only to appear in that Character,) made his publick Entry to *Windsor*, drest in his pontifical Habit, and accompanied by a great Number of Priests and Monks, carrying the Habits of their Orders. The Duke of *S--m--set* who was particularly attached to my Father and me, was ordered to receive the new Minister, but he refused, and was deprived of his Employ of Gentleman of the Bed chamber, and without any other Colour, the King took from him the Regiment of Dragoons which he commanded.

We attended with Impatience, to see what would be the Consequence of all these Changes and Revolutions; nor was there the least Appearance of a Remedy, or to hope that the Nation would not be over-whelm'd; the only Resource that appeared to flatter the People, was the Princess of *Orange*, who was presumptive Heiress to the Kingdom, and which had been so confirmed in her Infancy: But this Hope was again destroy'd, the King was but in his 51st Year, and might probably live long enough to destroy all the fundamental Laws of the Land; this Disappointment of their Hope, was a new Affliction, and banished all the Thoughts of
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that Resource, with which they had flattered themselves; and now the Growth of the Queen's Pregnancy drew all their Attention for a while.

The Jesuits did not fail to make a Miracle of her Pregnancy, nay, even some of them had the Indiscretion to publish, that the Queen had certainly conceived a Prince, pretending that it was the Effect of a Vow which the Queen, and her Mother, the Dutches of *Modena*, had made at the *Holy Chappel*, to our Lady of *Loretto*; This News was Matter of rejoicing to all the Roman Catholicks; but a very Thunderbolt to the Protestants: But what renewed their Hope was, the Refusal the Prince and Princess of *Orange* had made, to consent to the abolishing the Test and Penal Laws made against the Catholicks, by which they could not have any Seat in Parliament; nor execute any publick Employ. This Firmness in the presumptive Heirs of the Crown, made us believe, that they would not abandon us in our most pressing Necessity.

The King did not cease, 'spite of all their Opposition, to make new Efforts to have a new Parliament under his Direction; but in this he met with much Difficulty; the People upon so important an Occasion not thinking it proper to put their Interests into the Hands of those, who were devoted to the Court; And for this Reason, the King resolved to bring them to by Force: And to
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that End, he delivered out Commissions for the levying of new Troops, and gave Orders for the augmenting his Fleet. He wrote to the *States General* of the *United Provinces*, that they would send back the six Regiments of *English* and *Scots*, which were in their Service; and he would prepare to do that by Force, which he could not effect otherwise; but the *States General* had sufficient Reasons to refuse what he demanded, and the Prince of *Orange* seeing what was carrying on against his Subjects, told the *English* and *Scots* Regiments, that he would permit such Officers as desired it, to return to *England*, and that he would put in their Places others on whom he could more surely rely.

During these Transactions, a sudden Melancholy seized my Grand-father; many Persons of Quality came to visit him, whose only Discourse was the Affairs of the Times, and deploring the miserable State to which the Kingdom was reduced, by the Bigotry of the King.

It was about this Time that the Birth of the Person now abroad happened, and there have been so many various Reports concerning his Birth, that I don't think it proper to repeat them: It is certain it was only look'd upon as an Affair to blind the World, and the Protestants would have it that it was but a feign'd Delivery, and that their Suspicions were founded upon probable Conjectures,

that Resource, with which they had flattered themselves; and now the Growth of the Queen's Pregnancy drew all their Attention for a while.

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tures, and the Catholicks as strenuously urg'd the Contrary.

This Success was the Cause of infinite Joy, to the Roman Catholick Party: The Protestants indeed expressed their Joys by Bonfires, though they pretended that their Joy was only for the Birth of a Prince, who they hoped might one Day restore them to the Liberty the King seemed inclinable to deprive them of; for they had refused to make publick a Declaration of the King's, which tended to abolish the *English* Religion, and establish the Church of *Rome*: Although I was a Member of the Church of *England*, and extremely zealous for my Religion, the Danger my Grand-father was in of losing his Life, made me indifferent to every thing that passed, notwithstanding he every Moment decayed more and more, yet being sensible that he approached his last Hour, he called me to him, and spoke thus:

My Child, I leave you very young—— the Condition in which I now behold our dear Country, I believe will be attended with most fatal Consequences; all I would command you is, to undertake nothing against your Conscience, and that your Honour and Dignity be your Guides to keep you from making any false Steps——I have been made too eminent; but though the End of my Life has not been so fortunate as perhaps you might have wished; because I have been deprived of the great Employments I once possess; yet,

yet, I have this Consolation, that no one can reproach me with any thing that I have done——nothing against my Country, nothing against my King, nor aught against myself: Preserve the like Sentiments, and engrave upon your Heart these the last Words I shall speak to you while I live.

The Effect agreed with what he said, for a few Hours after he expired in my Arms: His Death touched me most sensibly, nor could I shew it more than by paying a particular Regard to the last Words he had pronounced, and gave several Proofs, that Death alone could make me forget the Loss of so good a Friend.

By his Death, a Stall of the Knight of the Garter became vacant, and the King did not very well know on whom to bestow it; but was in Hopes to keep it for the Conversion of some Person of Quality; but nobody declared their Intentions of obtaining that Grace, nor could he bias any one to accept of it: Certain Emissaries of the King came, and pressed me mightily, but I had no Mind to merit it at that Price; but turned my View another Way, and chose any State but that.

During this, the King continued to pursue his glorious Enterprize, and the Number of the Malecontents encreased Day by Day. The Whigs and the Tories perceiving the Subversion of the Church, and that their Fate was inevitable, set aside the implacable Enmity that subsisted between them, and

jointly assembled to assist each other; when their Union was fixed, they agreed, that the best they could do would be to get the Prince of *Orange* to be at the Head of their Party. With this View, several Gentlemen were sent to the *Hague*, to confer with him, and offer him to come over here for their Welfare, and accept of the Government; and that if he would once begin, they would be sure to second him; but he was not easily deceived, the Attempt of setting himself up as a new Prince, to govern the three Kingdoms, although he was the lawful Heir, was a Motive too powerful to engage in, as he could not recoil afterwards.

As for me, I could not possibly declare my Sentiments; because the Duke's Death was too recent, for me to know how to determine; but they were ignorant that the true Reason was, because I did not think it right to come to such Extremities; therefore I alledged the Pretence of the Duke's Death; and that I could not possibly attend, because I knew at that Time, it would be a Crime to join myself to any Party.

The Prince of *Orange* having at length come to a Resolution, advised the Deputies, that they should take an Opportunity to demand Succours of the States; but that it should be done as secretly as possible: He told them it would not be difficult to obtain what they demanded; for that the States themselves would find it much to their Interest

Interest to keep up with them. He pretended, that the Ruin of their Republick, he heard, was to follow the Subjection of *England*, and that it was a Project of *Lewis* the XIVth, and King *James's*. The States of *Holland*, who very well comprehended the Views of these two Monarchs, promised immediate Succours to the *English*, and prepared accordingly to furnish them with a considerable Armament.

The making of these Preparations opened the King's Eyes, he caused a Memorial to be presented to the States, to know their Designs; but they gave him several ambiguous Reasons, and demanded an Answer of him, why he had armed such a powerful Fleet, and so large an Army, without which they would not tell him their Designs. This Answer augmented his Suspicions, and his Belief, and on his Side, he made still more Preparations to wait all Events.

As yet I had not made any Resolution; but being well assured that the King, contrary to the Laws of our Land, had not only altered the Constitution of the Government; but even reversed the principal Points, I could in Conscience stay no longer, but joined the other Noblemen to prevent the Misfortunes of both Church and State. There were some Authors that called our Union, a League against the King; but they knew not the difference of the Government of *England* from other States; they had heard some Talk
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of that kind, because the King had first acted so, as to take off the Respect due from *Subjects* to their *Sovereign*.

According to the Promise of the *States-General*, and the Prince of *Orange*, we waited his Arrival to establish the Peace of our Country, and prevent the Ruin that threatened us, the Preparations on each Side were made with the utmost Diligence, and as soon as the *States Fleet* was ready, the Prince embarked on board a Frigate of 30 Guns: The Fleet was very numerous; many *English* Gentlemen accompany'd the Prince, as well as many *French* Refugee Officers: The Joy we had conceived at their Sailing was abated by the News, that the Fleet was extremely endangered by a furious Tempest, which arose a few Hours after they had set sail, and which we were informed, would be a great hindrance to them; but it is true, this News did not much dishearten us, when we heard that the Court grew remiss in their Preparations, and that the Enterprize would not be rendered vain.

During this, the *States-General* published a Manifesto, by which they made it appear, that they could not refuse Succours to the Prince of *Orange* upon his own Surety, and that they had good Reasons for doing what they had done. The King no longer doubting the Prince's Designs, used all possible Diligence to assemble the Troops he could

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conveniently get together, he marched by several Stages to *Salisbury* Plain, he sent Orders to reinforce the Garrison of *Portsmouth*, then under Command of the Duke of *Berwick*, and endeavoured to make the Prince's Landing as difficult as possible.

As soon as the Prince arrived, and the Fleet had made a Descent on *Torbay*, he marched with his Army towards *Exeter*. We entered into an Association, by which we engaged ourselves to God, the Prince, and to each Other; that we would hold our Attachment firm, to preserve the ancient Government, the Laws and Liberty of the Kingdom, pursuant to which he was to call a Free Parliament; and then assured us of our Rights in such a manner, that we were no longer in danger of wearing the Yoke of Popery and Slavery; the Time being over in which the Nobility who had not joined the Prince had agreed to sign the Association, several among us went to join him at *Exeter* with it, which was a sensible Pleasure to him, all Things were in readiness, and Numbers of Gentlemen came armed from all Parts; and the Prince saw the most distinguished Persons by Birth and Rank resort to him daily, as well as whole Regiments join his Army, and no longer doubted the Success of the Enterprize.

On the other Side, we held an Assembly at *London*, at the House of the Bishop of *Rocheſter*, where I was present, and there

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we came to a Resolution to present our Request to the King, that he would call a Free Parliament, and find Means to satisfy the Prince of *Orange*, the Request was accordingly presented. His Answer was, that he would agree with our Request; and gave us his Royal Word, that he would do it, as soon as he heard the Prince had quitted the Realm.

But this Answer did not satisfy us; we saw plainly that the King had no desire to have a Free Parliament, and that sooner than call one he would lose his Sovereignty; and he knew as well that we were not contented as to that Point; for which Reason he would proceed to Force: He set out for the Army, believing that his Presence would make the Troops more willing to serve him, and put a stop to the Desertions which they were continually making; but his Surprise was not small at his Arrival, when the Earl of *Feversham*, his General, told him, that the principal Officers had declared, that they were ready to shed the last drop of Blood in his Majesty's Service; but that their Consciences would not let them serve against a Prince, who demanded nothing, but to fix their unsettled Religion, and the Liberties of the Nation, by means of a free Parliament.

The King did not stay long with the Army after what he had heard, but retired to *London* with a Precipitation that almost resembled

resembled a Flight. What a Mortification must this be to Father *Peters*, and his Adherents, the Monks, who had but lately got them Coules and Sandals, they that were the principal Occasion of his Misfortunes, were the worst off in this difficult Time, and were obliged to part with all the Fruits of their Villany.

The whole Court was in a Consternation that is difficult to express; the King's Arrival made them foresee all the Dangers they must undergo; but he himself was yet more concerned, when he was informed, that Prince *George* of *Denmark*, his Son-in-Law, was gone to join the Prince of *Orange*, and whither I went, in Company with several Persons of the first Quality. Prince *George* wrote the King a Letter, to justify to him his Conduct and Behaviour, observing that our Defection was owing to the Regard of and Interest we had in the Protestant Religion, which he had endeavoured to destroy, contrary to all manner of Reason. Our junction was a sensible Pleasure to the Prince of *Orange*; the Reception he gave his Brother-in-Law, Me, and the other Gentlemen, was the most gracious that could be. Strengthen'd by the encrease of the Lords who had joined him, he marched directly with his Army towards *Salisbury*, and entered that Place amidst the Acclamations of the People, who looked upon him as their Deliverer. I was charmed with the Reception I met

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with from the Prince, and, in pursuance of his Orders, I went to *Oxford*, which I entred without any Resistance.

I read publicly the Prince's Manifesto, in which he shewed that his only Design was to call a Free Parliament, that should decide the Birth of the *Child*, and that he had no Intention to make a Conquest of *England*; that he came here, at the Request of the Lords of the Realm, who had called him to their Assistance, against the Violences the King had exercised, to introduce Popery, and change the Face of the Government. The Inhabitants of *Oxford* did not hinder the reading of the Manifesto; but cried, *Long live the Prince of Orange, our Deliverer*; and then they immediately joined me.

The King seeing the bad Situation of his Affairs, took a Resolution to call a Parliament, and to treat with the Prince; to which End he named three Commissaries, to dispute the Affair: On the other Side, the Prince deputed but two Lords to make Propositions in Writing. This Behaviour of the Prince, made the King's Counsellors imagine that he was not disposed to an Accommodation; for which Reason they pressed for an Assurance of the Safety of the King's Person, and that the Queen and her Child should have Liberty to depart to *France*, there to wait the Event of the Situation of Affairs.

During this the Prince of *Orange* made Propositions to the King, in order to a Reconciliation

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conciliation, to which End he demanded an entire Freedom of Parliament, and a Security that they should meet at *London*, without being disturbed by the Army.

The King seemed to accept of these Propositions, and only demanded Time to call a Council to conclude of what to do: But so far was he from restoring the Peace and Tranquility of the Kingdom, that when the Time came, his Council consisted only of Catholicks, which were entirely opposite to their Hopes. They perswaded the King, that it would be much more glorious for him to retire to *France*, than to be subject to the Laws of the Protestants, who as they only wanted to extirpate the Catholick Religion in their Country, he might be assisted with Aid from the King of *France*, to re-enter his Kingdom, and to finish the Conquest of the Work he had begun. Accordingly he told the principal Persons concerned, that he made no Hesitation to agree with their Demands; but that he would perform them exactly.

After they had taken this Resolution, the Queen prepared to depart with the Child. This Separation was the most moving that could be imagined; heightened by their mutual Tears, both for themselves and their Child: in short, they parted; the Queen favoured by the Disguise of the Night, crossed the *Thames*, exposed to the Injuries of the Weather, where a Coach was waiting to

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carry her to *Gravesend*, where she embark'd for *Calais*, and so happily arrived in *France*; after the Voyage she went to *Versailles*, where she was received by the King and the whole Court with the greatest Marks of Affection, which did not a little contribute to alleviate the Sorrow in which she then was.

A little after, the King, who had determined to follow her, put his Resolve in execution, habited in a mean Dress he departed from *Whitehall*, accompanied by three Persons, who were most faithful to him; and as he was departing, there was a great Swell of the *Thames*, as if it believed it could not carry the Queen without him.

The News of his Departure was very lucky to us, though the Prince was much concerned; and then received an Address from the City of *London*, that he would honour them with his Presence, and give them his Protection; and at the same Time the Populace committed many Hostilities against the Catholics, and it was difficult to keep them from running into Extremes; their Liberty, and the Call of Vengeance seemed to authorize their Fault; but the Prince's Good Nature appeased the Mob. I was all Day by the Prince's Side, when he received the Address of the City of *London*; and when he heard that my Lord *Feversham* had of himself dismissed the King's Army, this News irritated him against my Lord: but to prevent the Disorders, that the Necessity of the
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Soldiers might occasion, or any Accident of the like Nature, he published a Proclamation that the Colonels and Officers, and all able-bodied Soldiers, who would attend his Direction, and enter into present Subsistence.

It was not doubted, when the King had quitted the Kingdom, and left *Whitehall*, but that his design was to take shipping and follow the Queen his Spouse to *France*.

The Vessel which was to carry him, could not sail by Reason of contrary Winds; it was pretended that the Master believing he had Roman Catholicks who wanted to go to *France*, called together the Country men to insult them, and by this Means they were retarded from getting away; but they demanded the King and his Company to pay them their Price, and they would go, which amounted to four hundred Guineas and some odd Money, alledging that they underwent an hazard of being known by any one; but being made sensible who he had on Board, he fell on his Knees, begg'd Pardon for his unhappy Mistake; upon which his Majesty gave him his Hand, and finding him sensible of his Mistake, forgave his Insolence, gave him the 400 Guineas, and desired him to depart; but his People were displeased with the Excess of his Zeal for his Majesty, and sent for the Lord Lieutenant of the County, who join'd the Prayers of the People, and perswaded him to return to *London*.

Notwithstanding the Situation of our Affairs

fairs, we were pleas'd at the King's Return; the Prince was chagrin'd at this News, which was much occasion'd by a Party at *London*, which he found very much embarrass his Measures; during this, he sent a Lord to desire him that he might retire to *Rochester*; but the Nobleman not arriving in Time, the King had before entered *London*, where he was received with Acclamations of Joy, as if he had come to restore the Kingdom to Safety.

Judge by this, What was the Love of the People to their Sovereign, for notwithstanding what he had done, he might have had quiet Possession of the Crown upon reasonable Conditions; but he himself overthrew all again, by making a publick Acknowledgment that he would render Satisfaction to the Catholicks, who had been us'd ill by the Populace; and chose a very bad time to use an Expression, that it was almost incredible he should say, which was that he would not hear any thing said against the Catholicks or *Romish* Preachers. I am sure I felt a secret Joy and Satisfaction at the Return of the King, because I hoped it would render the Succession safe, and put an End to all our Grievances. The Earl of *Feversham* now came unto the Prince, who said he came from St. *James's*, charg'd with a Commission to treat on amicable Terms of an Accommodation; but the Prince would not give any Answer on that Head, till he had held a
Council

Council with the Lords who had join'd him; in the mean time he arrested the Earl of *Feverſham*, as a Perſon whom he believed was the chief Cauſe of all theſe Troubles, and that he had hurt the King in Perſon by his pernicious Counſels: The Counſel being aſſembled, did not think it convenient that the King and the Prince ſhould meet together at *London*, there were ſome Members of the Council who propoſed to ſend the King Priſoner to *Breda*; but the Prince would not come into a Propoſition that carry'd ſo much Indignity in it, and it was thought neceſſary that he ſhould come to *London*. In the End it was concluded, that the Prince ſhould propoſe the King to retire to *Ham* Houſe, ſome few Miles from Town, and be under his own Guard for Security, and the Prince ſhould make appear that he had no Deſign againſt his Perſon. To ſignifie this to the King, the Prince ſent three Lords to demand Audience of him, the King received them graciously, and was to a minute with them, at their Arrival at *Whitehall*, he agreed to the Order without any Objections, only as to the Prince's deſiring *Ham* Houſe, he choſe rather to go to *Rochefter*, to which the Prince conſented with Pleaſure.

The ſame Day, the Prince went to *London* and lodg'd at the Palace of *St. James's*, whither I had the Honour to follow him; he received the Complements of all, the Lords and Nobility, upon the happy Occaſion of his

his Arrival; the People shew'd the highest Marks of their Affection to the Prince, and would even have sacrificed to him all the Catholicks they knew in Town, all which he prevented by his Wisdom and agreeable Behaviour.

The King returned to *Rocheſter*, to that little Part of the World, because they had disconcerted his Measures at *London*. Then it was that he found the Mistake he had made, in endeavouring to be Absolute, and keeping Possession of his Government by Force; a terrible Effect of the Counsels of the Monks and Jesuits: He had imbibed their pernicious Advice, because he would not hearken to Intreaties; though, even some among them, judged it better in the State of Affairs to assemble a Parliament. They alledged, that upon so doing the Hatred the People had conceived against him would be changed into Love; and that it would give them hopes, it would make all Things agreeable to their Desire, and answer the Expectations they had conceived at his return.

And it was then expected by his civil Behaviour, and every One imagined, that the Parliament would enter into proper Measures for maintaining the Protestant Religion, and no one could think otherwise.

While this was in Agitation, it was reported that he had abandoned the Kingdom, having gone to the utmost Limit of
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his Power; and it was for that Reason he preferred a Retirement to *France*, rather than to pass his Life here, in a State of Subjection. His Flight from the Kingdom, gave to a Multitude of Persons much Chagrin and Mortification.

Being well assured that he had no farther Hopes, he departed in the Morning, followed by the Duke of *Berwick*, his Natural Son, Mr. *Sheldon*, and his *Valet de Chambre*, and embarked for *Calais*.

He was received by the King of *France* with all the Remonstrances of Friendship that could be expressed; and his Most Christian Majesty, to shew his Zeal and the Regard he had to the *English* King, made use of the Words of the Prophet---*Dixit Dominus, Domino meo, sede a dextris meis, donec ponam inimicos tuos scabellum pedum tuorum*; but unhappy for his Prophecy, it was not accomplished, neither is there any likelihood of its being accomplished.

It was said, that the Prince had no desire to make an End of the Affair he had advanced. A Crown was attended with such powerful Attractions, that he could not well accept it, though he had given his Word of Honour to his Wife, that he would not attempt any Thing against the Liberty of his Country, or against the King his Father.

Before his Departure from *Rocheſter*, the King wrote a Memorandum with his own Hand, which he left upon the Table, and

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which contained as follows : That he thought the Prince was wrong in causing my Lord *Feverſham* to be arreſted; that he was well apprized he could have no Redreſs from him, who had unjuſtly uſurped his Kingdom; and that it was owing to him the Aſperſions and Calumnies which had been raiſed concerning the Birth of the *Child*; and that he hoped his Calamities would touch the Hearts of all his good Subjects; and ended with a Prayer that the Parliament would have a particular Regard to their Religion, and live quietly as *Engliſhmen* and *Chriſtians*.

Thus ended the Reign of *James* the II^d, which, had he been free from the Advices of the Jeſuits and Friars, had been happy, quiet and flouriſhing, and without any Diſturbance, Troubles and Diviſions, were all the Sufferers got, and the greateſt Changes and Turns in Affairs, owed their Original to Ambition or Ignorance; and we found by daily Experience, that they wanted to make the Sovereign Power Deſpotick.

After the King's Departure, the Lords conſulted what was proper concerning the Adminiſtration of the Government. The Peers of the Realm preſented an humble Addreſs to the Prince, that he would take upon him that Charge, and give Orders to ſummon a Parliament, and the Members to be choſe in the ſpace of ten Days; in purſuance of which they called a Convention,
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in which it was acknowledged, that the King had in himself a Right to call a Parliament without Dispute.

The Convention that was assembled, consisted of the eldest of the Peers, who desired that the Prince would accept of the Government, for the Good of the Kingdom in general. But this was opposed by several Creatures of the King's, who endeavoured all they could to make a Division among the Lords, one of which was the *French Ambassador*; of which the Prince being apprised, made an Order for him to depart the Realm in twenty-four Hours; and accordingly he set out for *Calais*.

There were so many Contests and Disputes in that Assembly, that it would be needless here to speak of.

The hopes of the King's Party entirely vanished, being quite contrary to Reason; but to foment Things, and encourage his own Party, he wrote a Letter to his Council, in which he refused standing to any Thing that his Party had urged, and by several Insinuations endeavoured to keep up the Animosity.

At this time a new Parliament being called, they put the Question, Whether or no the King had not abdicated his Crown, by deserting it? After a long Dispute, and many Reasons alledged on one Side and the other, of different Sorts, it was agreed that the King had entirely abdicated the Go-

vernment, inasmuch as he had retired from the Kingdom, and by leaving the Throne vacant, had left it to be disposed of.

In the mean time, the Prince of *Orange* published a Manifesto, implying, that he came for the Good of the Country, and not out of any particular Regard to himself; and he remained quiet at *St. James's*; and I'll venture to say, that his affable Behaviour at that time engaged a Number of People to his Party.

In this Situation of Affairs, they desired the Prince to take upon him the Government. The Prince replied, That he was unwilling; very well knowing the Consequences that attended such a Charge. But as he had no Title, he was content that his Wife should alone possess the Throne; and that if they would trust the Crown to a Woman, he would return to *Holland*, and live contented that he had done Service to *England*.

It was urged that he should ascend the Throne, it not being right to leave it without a Successor; In the End, after many Debates, it was concluded that the Prince and Princess of *Orange* should be declared King and Queen; pursuant to which Resolution, a Message was sent to the Princess, and though the Reins of Government was established only in the Person of her Spouse, she was well content with their Choice; the Marquis of *Hallifax*, Speaker of the House of Lords, offered

ferred the Crown to their Highnesses in the Name of both Houses, to whom the Prince replied, that he was very sensible of the Value of that Offer, and that such a Mark of the Confidence they reposed in him, rendered it more estimable; and that his whole Study should be, to promote the Good of the Realm, and the Glory and Prosperity of the Nation.

This Ceremony was immediately follow'd by their Proclamation, the King by the Name of *William*, and the Queen by that of *Mary*.

The People repeated their Names with Acclamations of Joy inexpressible, and their Rejoicings lasted many Days, to the great Content of their Majesties; the Illuminations and Bonfires, which were made on that Account, expressed the Joy the People were in on such an happy Occasion, and from all Sides issued Cries of, *Long live the Prince of Orange, our King, and our Deliverer.*

How happy was the End of so considerable an Event: Histories are replete with Revolutions of all Sorts, but you shall seldom find one that was attended with less Blood-shed than this, and all through the Prudence of the Prince, and the Fidelity of the *English*; this Expedition happened in the most rigorous Season of the Year.

Many Authors have in a Passion, rated the Prince, by the Title of an Usurper, and that as he was Son in law to the King, he ought

ought to have been struck with Horror, not only to take Arms against him, but to drive Things to such Extremity, as to banish him from the Throne, in order to mount it himself; but these Sort of People write more through Heat of Passion than any thing else.

In the first Place he was a Protestant, the *English* called him to their Assistance, to protect them in their Religion, which the King would have destroyed, and his Conscience obliged him to second: Besides, the Uncertainty of the Legitimacy of the Child, by which his Princess had a lawful Title to the Crown, were Motives pressing enough to engage him to take up Arms.

But these Accusers, do not well examine all the Sources of this important Action: For my part, I believe that his Presence, and the ready Succours he afforded us, hindered the *English* from carrying their Violences and Resentment to the Pitch they did against *Charles I.* the King's Father; for the Failing of that unfortunate Prince was much the same as the Son's, in regard they were both against the Law of the Land; and fatal it would have been to King *James* the II^d, but for the Goodness and Prudence of the Prince of *Orange*, who preserved him from Danger.

When all Things were pretty easy, the next Step was to concert Measures with *Holland*, to prevent the Designs which
France

France had formed against the *States*, and to prepare to assist each other in the War, which then seemed inevitable : In the mean time *France* had furnished King *James* with Troops, with which he went to *Ireland*, followed by the Count *D'Avaux*, who commanded them for him : But as all the World knows the Success of that Enterprize, I shall not fully recite it. As soon as he entered upon that Island, he made himself Master of many Places ; and this first Success fired him with hopes that he should recover Possession of the Crown ; but the Effect proved what vain Hopes he had formed, though *France* did all it could to lend him Succours.

About this Time all the Powers of *Europe* declared War with *France*, viz. the *Emperor*, *Spain*, *England*, *Holland*, and Others, and made Preparations for a Campaign immediately. According to an Order I received from the King, I went to *Holland* with a Troop of his Majesty's Life-Guards, to command the Cavalry of the Allies ; but my Presence being necessary in *England*, the King recalled me soon after.

The first Campaign, which was made in *Flanders*, there was nothing remarkable done, and I can only call it a gentle Amusement. After the Troops had entered into Winter Quarters, I returned to *England*, where I was received by the King with uncommon Marks of Affection. It was much talked at *London*, of the Success which
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King *James* had met with in *Ireland*; but most People looked upon it as the last Efforts of expiring Royalty.

As soon as Spring appeared I returned to *Holland*, and happily for me on two Accounts; the first was, that I might be in a Readiness for the Campaign: And the second was, that I took a particular Pleasure in being in that Place; for besides the first Reason, I had conceived an amorous Passion for the Countess of *D——*, she was about 24 Years old, and surpassed all the Ladies of that Place in Beauty: The *Hollanders* in general are fair, and well shaped, but want something of the Vivacity, which I adored in the Countess; a few Days after I made my first Voyage to that Place I paid her a Visit; when I took an Opportunity to declare the Passion with which her Beauty had inspired me; she received the Declaration as an Acknowledgment that was generally paid to her Charms; but that was not what I desired. In the End, after many Conversations which I had with her, I would have persuaded her of the Passion with which I was enflamed, and would have made further Advances; she replied she looked upon my Address as a Subject to divert myself with, and that was all; but the Constancy I shewed in repeating that Tender, my second Voyage, made me entire Master of her Heart, and in a particular Conversation which we had, she told me,

me, that she did not know any Person more worthy to be Lov'd than me, that contrary to the Custom of young Warriors, who only employ'd themselves in forming vast Schemes of imaginary Conquests, and only regarded the fair Sex as a Tribute due to their Exploits, I only render'd myself a Prize to the Ladies, and did all I could to merit their Esteem; it is true, replied I, my fair Countess, that there are many who know not how to value you, with a regard equal to your Merit, but I find Madam, that my whole Happiness depends upon your Pleasure, and if that is Truth, continued I, I hope you will not be so indifferent, but you will have some regard to this Tender of my Love.

We were in this Situation, when I received an order to return to *England*, and after having promised inviolable Fidelity to my Countess, I immediately set out for *London*, 'twas this Year, that the famous Affair of *Fleurus* happened in *Flanders*, which, when I relate it, will appear to be the most bloody Battle that happen'd in that Age; so soon as I arriv'd in *England*, I was ordered to follow the King to *Ireland*, whither he was gone to entirely reduce that Kingdom. After speaking of the Affair of *Fleurus*, I must tell you, that in *Ireland* I met with new Troubles; it was reported that my Brother had entered into a Conspiracy against their Britannick Majesties, in Favour of King *James*, tho' that Conspiracy was discovered Time enough to prevent

48 *The LIFE of JAMES,*

King *James* had met with in *Ireland*; but most People looked upon it as the last Efforts of expiring Royalty.

As soon as Spring appeared I returned to *Holland*, and happily for me on two Accounts; the first was, that I might be in a Readiness for the Campaign: And the second was, that I took a particular Pleasure in being in that Place; for besides the first Reason, I had conceived an amorous Passion for the Countess of *D——*, she was about 24 Years old, and surpassed all the Ladies of that Place in Beauty: The *Hollanders* in general are fair, and well shaped, but want something of the Vivacity, which I adored in the Countess; a few Days after I made my first Voyage to that Place I paid her a Visit; when I took an Opportunity to declare the Passion with which her Beauty had inspired me; she received the Declaration as an Acknowledgment that was generally paid to her Charms; but that was not what I desired. In the End, after many Conversations which I had with her, I would have persuaded her of the Passion with which I was enflamed, and would have made further Advances; she replied she looked upon my Address as a Subject to divert myself with, and that was all; but the Constancy I shewed in repeating that Tender, my second Voyage, made me entire Master of her Heart, and in a particular Conversation which we had, she told me,

me, that she did not know any Person more worthy to be Lov'd than me, that contrary to the Custom of young Warriors, who only employ'd themselves in forming vast Schemes of imaginary Conquests, and only regarded the fair Sex as a Tribute due to their Exploits, I only render'd myself a Prize to the Ladies, and did all I could to merit their Esteem; it is true, replied I, my fair Countess, that there are many who know not how to value you, with a regard equal to your Merit, but I find Madam, that my whole Happiness depends upon your Pleasure, and if that is Truth, continued I, I hope you will not be so indifferent, but you will have some regard to this Tender of my Love.

We were in this Situation, when I received an order to return to *England*, and after having promised inviolable Fidelity to my Countess, I immediately set out for *London*, 'twas this Year, that the famous Affair of *Fleurus* happened in *Flanders*, which, when I relate it, will appear to be the most bloody Battle that happen'd in that Age; so soon as I arriv'd in *England*, I was ordered to follow the King to *Ireland*, whither he was gone to entirely reduce that Kingdom. After speaking of the Affair of *Fleurus*, I must tell you, that in *Ireland* I met with new Troubles; it was reported that my Brother had entered into a Conspiracy against their Britannick Majesties, in Favour of King *James*, tho' that Conspiracy was discovered Time enough to prevent

their Designs, and the *French* Fleet was waiting all the Time near the *English* Coasts, expecting every Moment that the Conspiracy would take Effect: And most of the Lords were of Opinion, that if it had not been discovered in Time, it would have been fatal to the Prince, who was then in *Ireland*, to reduce that Kingdom to Obedience; the Accomplices were all accused of High Treason, and had much ado to escape Death.

The Queen apprehending some new Disaster, sent Orders to the *English* Admiral, to give Battle, at any Rate, to the *French* Fleet, which hovered about the *English* Coasts; and, if possible, to frustrate their ill Intentions: To that End, the Admiral of *Holland* joined the *English* Fleet; and tho' they knew, that the *French* were superior in the Number of their Vessels, they came to a Resolution to attack them, and execute the Orders of the Queen of *England*. Immediately upon this, the Vanguard of the *Dutch* Fleet was ordered to sail, and after sailing two or three Hours, was obliged to cast Anchor: A little Time after the *French* Fleet came up with the Allies, who had got the Wind of their Enemies, the first Broadside was given by the States General's Fleet, tho' both of one Side and the other, they continued a terrible Firing; but tho' the Allies had the Advantage of the first Fire, yet was it fatal to the *Hollanders*, who remained at a Distance with only three Vessels, which lay by
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in a Posture of Defence, and pretended that the *English* Admiral was slow in his Attack, nay, that even he himself held an Intelligence with the Enemies.

This Sea-fight was followed by the Battle of *Fleurus*, of which I promised to speak. The Marshal *Luxembourg* having joined the Army of Monsieur *Boufflers*, resolved to pass the *Sambre*, between *Namur* and *Charleroy*, and to put Part of *Spain* under Contribution: The *Spaniards* being exceedingly alarmed at this News, strove mightily to oppose their Design, and the Prince of *Waldeck* knowing the Importance of keeping the *French* from passing that River, resolved to oppose their Passage; accordingly, he detached one of his principal Officers, with 500 Horse, to see if the Enemy was about to pass the River, and he followed with five other Regiments of Cavalry, to assist them in Case of Necessity, and he likewise was followed with another Detachment of ten Deiles, under the Command of Monsieur *Webenum*, which were ordered to go immediately against the Enemy.

The first Advance was to the Village of *Fleurus*, where they found that a Part of the *French* Army had passed the *Sambre*, and had posted themselves near that Village, which gave an Opportunity to the Count de *Flo-dorp*, who followed him, to pass likewise; and at Length the Prince and the rest of the Army pass'd between *Mellin* and *Fleury*: The Enemy being informed of the Approach

of the Count de *Berlo*, who had advanced to reconnoitre them, marched directly to him, and charged him vigorously, and forced him to retire, which he did so slow, that he could not possibly defend himself, and after having fought with all the Courage imaginable, he lost his Life, with many more of the Officers. Then he who commanded the second Detachment found they had advanced so far, that he could not retire without giving them Battle; the Cavalry did Wonders, but in the End, being overpowered with Numbers, he was obliged to give Back to Mr. de *Webenum*, who commanded the third Detachment, and they being joined, fell back to the Body of the Army, which was ranged in Order of Battle near them.

This was but the Prelude of the following Battle: All that Night they continued in Order of Battle, and were informed the next Day that the Duke of *Luxembourg* was resolved to give them Battle: Some of them were of Opinion to repass the *Sambre* with the Army, but a little after it was resolved to be in Readiness, and wait to see if they would come near them in the Morning.

The States Army consisted of about 25000 Men, and the Allies were in the whole no more, which were formed into two Lines; but the *French* Army was upwards of 50,000, for Marshal *Luxembourg* had drained all the Garrisons of the Frontier Places to rein-

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force them, notwithstanding which, they resolved to give him Battle. The Command of the right Wing was given to Prince *Nassau*, General of the Horse, accompanied by several General Officers, and among the rest General *D'Hubia* a Spaniard; the Prince *Nassau* Governor of *Friesland*, Marshal of the Camp, and the rest of the General Officers were in the left Wing and the Body of the Army. The Enemy had placed their Troops at the Back of a small Wood, and upon an Eminence, by which Means they had an Opening to come at the Back of the second Line of the left Wing, which obliged them to face about, and change from their first Situation, in such a Manner as much weakened them: The Duke of *Luxembourg* did not fail to make Use of the Advantage he had got; in short, the left Wing finding they were attacked both behind and before, could not resist the Efforts of the *French*; tho' our second Line was drove back by the Vigour of their Infantry, they could not penetrate the third Line, which drove back their Squadrons, but they soon presented themselves afresh, and with much Difficulty repulsed the *Hollanders*, who were no longer able to endure the Fight.

The Prince of *Waldeck* seeing the Disadvantage they were under, the Cavalry being no less press'd by the Enemy than the Foot, sent the Cavalry of the second Line of the right Wing to their Assistance: In the mean Time

Time the first Line of the right Wing was attacked by the Enemy, who drove them back with great Loss, and took from them ten Pieces of Cannon, but the *Hollanders* drove them in such Sort, that the Horse abandoned the Foot, and had no Opportunity to rally. The Count de *Flodorp* having got together only a few and small Part of the Infantry, retreated in good Order.

The *French* remained Masters of the Field, but they lost much more than their Enemies, and their Victory cost them exceeding dear, by the Death of many of their Officers, and the Ruin of some of their best Troops: The same Evening the Duke of *Luxembourg* quitted the Field, and marched towards the Prince of *Waldeck's* Camp; this Army laid the whole Place under Contribution, but they were not in a Condition to repair the Loss they had undergone.

I finding this Campaign not likely to be full of Business, tho' that of *Piedmont* soon followed after, sent the News to *Ireland* of the Battle of *Fleury*, which, tho' there was great Loss on both Sides, the King thought would be very advantageous to him.

The King wanting to make an End of the War in *Ireland*, resolved to give Battle to King *James's* Troops, and to that End advanced with Count *Schomberg*, with a Design to reconnoitre the Enemy's Camp.

It was on this Occasion, that the King was hurt on the Shoulder with a Cannon Ball, which,

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which, by good Fortune, only grazed the Flesh, but it was thought proper for him to retire to his Tent, without any Alarm: He gave Orders for the Night to Count *Schomberg*, with a Part of the Army, to pass a River which separated us from the Enemy, and after we had pass'd to attack them in the Flank; it was performed just as he could wish, and they were obliged to decamp. The Count having sent Advice to the King of their fortunate Success, he pass'd the River with the rest of the Army; the Enemy were ready to oppose the Passage of the last Troops, which they endeavoured to drive back, but they fired upon them with such Fury, that they were constrained to retire.

During all the Time of this Action, the King, accompanied by the Prince of *Denmark* was at the Head of his Troops; no one could be a better Judge than me of the King's Bravery, because I never quitted him, unless to execute some of his Orders; but it was reported, that in the Time of the Battle *K. James* only looked on to see what pass'd, from an Eminence, attended by a large Train of his Friends.

On this unhappy Occasion the Duke of *Schomberg* lost his Life; the *Irish* perceiving the Overthrow of King *James's* Affairs by that Battle, deserted Count *Lauzun's* Troops, and the *Swissers* were then the Choice of his Army; the *French* and *Swiss* defended themselves with great Bravery, and retired in good Order. King *James* having lost all Hopes
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by his Troops being so disordered, retired to *Dublin*, whence he forthwith returned to *France*, being afraid to wait the Event of this sad Disaster, where it was pretended he was received with much Affection by *Lewis* the XIV. but that Prince knew very well, that the Reason his Arms had met with no better Success in *Ireland*, was owing to his not being at the Head of his Troops in Person; nevertheless he flattered that unhappy Prince with the Hopes of regaining *England*, and the Friendship he shewed him, was more owing to Policy than Affection.

In the mean Time King *James's* Affairs grew worse and worse, and it was not long after he was gone, but the Protestants made themselves Masters of *Dublin*, and sent a Deputation to *K. William* to give him Advice thereof; and I was sent the next Day, with *Mr. Auverquerque*, and two Regiments, one of Horse, and one of Foot, we proceeded to deliver the Protestant Prisoners, and took Possession of the City and Castle in his Majesty's Name; the Inhabitants seeing the Son of their former Lord Lieutenant, for whom they had a particular Regard, express'd it by many Acclamations of Joy, and other Marks of their Affection; two Days after, the King himself arrived, and he was received with the general Applauses of all the People, and all their happy Wishes.

After we had subdued some little Garrisons round it, the Army marched to *Limerick*,

rick, where lay the grand Force of the Enemy, commanded by the Lord *Tyrconnel* and Count *Lauzun*; that Place was much the strongest in *Ireland*, and almost the only one that remained, the taking of which would certainly oblige them to retire.

King *James's* Generals perceiving the Approach of our Army, left the Command of *Limerick* to a *French* Officer, after having fortified it with a sufficient Garrison, and retired some Miles off, and divided their Troops into two Bodies, one commanded by the Lord *Tyrconnel*, encamped a few Miles from the Place; and the other under Count *Lauzun* advanced to *Galway*; in the End, that they might embark, in order to return to *France*, for he found he could not maintain *Ireland* hardly a Day, or resist the Number of the King's Troops.

In our Approach to *Limerick*, we found the Lord *Tyrconnel's* Troops about a Mile from the Town, encamped near a River, where, from their Entrenchments, they made a great Fire upon us. The King would have pass'd the River, and attacked them immediately, but then thought it would be better to stay till next Morning: But the Enemy would not give us the Trouble, for they decamped in the Night, with so much Precipitation, that they left Part of their Baggage behind: So we pass'd without any Resistance, and prepared for the Siege of the Place.

The Beginning of the Siege gave us all the Reason in the World to hope good Success, tho' the Garrison was numerous; and the Place extremely well fortified; for it was this Place that formerly gave such Obstruction to the Affairs of the famous *Cromwell*. Eight Days after the Trenches were opened, they made a Breach in the Place, and had batter'd down the Works that defended the Counterscarp, and seemed resolved to carry it, and pushed the Enemy into the Town; they strove with all the Ardour possible to carry the whole Place by the Breach they had made, but the Enemy finding their Intrenchments destroyed, made so terrible a Fire upon the Besiegers, that they could not resist, but were obliged to retire with the Loss of great Part of the Soldiers, and many of the Officers; I was slightly wounded in the Action: But this ill Success did not at all abate the Ardour of the King's Troops, nor hinder us from continuing the Siege, which we did not doubt to effect. On the other Side, there were several who persuaded the King that the Season was very improper; that the Rivers would swell, and occasion an Inundation, which might endamage the Army, and even cause them to perish: He therefore thought proper to remit this Expedition to another Time.

The King finding that his Presence was no longer necessary in the Army, returned to *England*, whither I followed him; and so effectually

effectually was the Business done, that we had no Occasion to go back to *Ireland*, the Troops reduced the whole Place the next Campaign, the *French* retreated, and King *James's* Hopes were entirely vanished.

After this Campaign, which wholly decided the Fate of King *James*, I returned to *Holland*, where I found my dear Countess much increased in Love for me; a little Time after I had the Pleasure to see her, and as I could not stay long at that Place, upon Account of several Affairs which I was obliged to settle in a Hurry, therefore the few Times we met, we renewed our Passion with all the tender Assurances of Fidelity; my frequent Visits at last began to be talked of, and the Cause of publick Discourse very injurious and reflecting.

I returned to *England*, where I was appointed by the King one of the Privy Council of the Kingdom of *Ireland*, which Honour gave me much Pleasure, as I saw myself mounting to the Step, from which the Bigotry of King *James* had thrown down my Grandfather, without any Reason.

A little Time after the King departed from *London*, in order to embark for *Holland*, I was appointed to attend him in the Voyage, as likewise several other Noblemen of the Court: This was to me Occasion of a double Joy, not only as to the Pleasure of accompanying his Majesty, but in Consideration that I was going to a Place where my Heart

would meet with the utmost Content, on Account of my Passion. Four Days after our Embarkation, we arrived within Sight of the Coasts of *Holland*, but had much Difficulty to land, the Air was very foggy, and the Water thick with Flakes of Ice, entangled in one another.

In the mean Time the King entered a Shallop, and I followed him, to endeavour to get to Land, tho' in the most imminent Danger; all the Fleet were extremely terrified, to see the Perils his Majesty underwent, the very Sailors themselves could not help expressing their Fright, and all that looked on us said, that by the Dangers we exposed ourselves to, we had no Sense of Fear: We had not been long in the Shallop, before the Fog extremely thickned, in such a Sort, that the Fleet, which was composed of twelve Men of War, seven Yachts, and some other Vessels, lost Sight of the Shallop we were in; the Night succeeded the Fog, and we could make no further Way, but were obliged to wait eighteen Hours, exposed to all the Injuries of the Weather, and the Waves of the Sea, which entered the Shallop in such a Manner, that our Cloaths were all covered with Ice; the next Morning we went ashore in the Island of *Goree*, and got into the House of a poor Peasant, where we were entertained in a miserable Kitchen; it was soon spread thro' the Isle, that the King was there, and after we had changed our Cloaths and Lin-

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nen, he was complimented by the principal Magistrates, who came to offer him their House, which the King refused, and soon after went on board again, in order to attain the main Land; but we met with fresh Difficulties, by Reason our Vessel was too small to make Way thro' the Ice that hemm'd it in; and after this Embarrassment the King was obliged to be carried in the Arms of two Sailors, and we that were with him, followed his Example; in the End, after a lucky Escape from so many and so great Dangers, we arrived safe at the *Hague*, where the King was received with Acclamations of Joy so great, as scarce to be conceived, and saluted by the Sound of Bells, and a general Fire of all the Cannon: The Burghers had prepared to make his Entry very magnificent, but the King surprized them by his sudden Arrival; a great Number of People were assembled to see this Solemnity, and all the *Dutch* cherished so good an Opinion of the Prince, that they would take any Opportunity, meerly for the Pleasure of seeing him.

For the general Satisfaction the States desired that he would make a publick Entry, which the Prince resisted a long Time; but at Length they prevailed upon him to go to Dinner, a Quarter of a League from the *Hague*, and return in his Coach, surrounded by the Burghers, to his Court in the Middle of the City; I never saw so great a Concourse of People in that City before; they erected
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upon that Occasion several triumphal Arches, on which were expressed the principal Actions of the King, as the Maintainer of Religion, the Defence and Preservation of the Freedom of *Holland*, and the Restorer of the Laws of *England*; in short, they depicted him as the Deliverer of *Europe* from the Hands of Rapine and Tyranny.

The King shewed all the People sufficient Marks of his Goodness, and among the rest Admiral *Tromp*, the famous Sea-officer, well known by the Exploits and Actions of his Father, he honoured him with the Command of the *Dutch* Fleet. During all the Time his Majesty staid at the *Hague*, there was nothing but Rejoicings; above twenty Sovereign Princes came to pay him Visits, they frequently dined with him, and he with them, he was at all the Parties of Pleasure with them, and employed the rest of his Time in transacting publick Affairs. Tho' my Affairs would not suffer me to be much absent from the King's Person, yet I did not forget to give frequent Instances of my Love; I found my fair Countess at the *Hague*, I strove by all Means possible to assure her of my Love, and we mutually increased each other's Love, tho' it had already been raised to an excessive Pitch: My frequent Visits to her had occasioned much Talk thereupon, and the Liberty she had by her Quality of frequently seeing me, did not a little contribute to augment those Reasons; notwithstanding which,

which, it did not prevent our carrying on our Designs, and giving the reciprocal Marks of Affection which the whole World had imputed to us; the happy Moments that I pass'd with her, the tender Sentiments I had before conceived, and I was so happy at that Time, that I would have forgone *Glory* for *Pleasure*: But the Campaign opened, and the King went himself, and deprived me of the Delights of Love, and made me yield myself entirely to *Glory*; I was obliged to follow his Majesty, and we found the Army encamped near *Brussels*; the Prince was received with all the Tokens of Respect and Joy, that could be given by the Troops, who had an entire Confidence in his Conduct and Courage, and who believed that they were sure of Victory, if they fought according to his Orders.

So soon as the King of *England* arrived at the Army, he was for advancing towards the Enemy, and we made no Doubt but this Campaign would be very bloody, according to the Disposition both on one Side and the other; the *French*, on their Part, had an Army much more powerful than the Allies, notwithstanding the Belief we had entertained of this Affair, those very Dispositions would not permit us to attack them; nothing pass'd considerable in that Campaign, it only ended in a little Rencounter, of which I shall speak afterwards.

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During my Stay at the Army, the Report that was made of the Interviews I had had with my dear Countess, came to the Ears of her Parents; her Father was a Man of good Sense, but rigid, and observed every Thing with the utmost Attention; he left nothing undone that could any Ways help him to comprehend why his Daughter had made the Tour to the *Hague*, and he believed that it was not so much to see the polite World, as to carry on some amorous Commerce; nor was he wrong in thinking thus of his Daughter, her Virtue was sufficiently proved, and I took Care to be the Guardian of it.

Indeed her Father went to her one Morning, and spoke after this Sort, I would not willingly, believe, Madam, the Reports which are spread upon your Account, not that I believe you deserve them, I assure you, and likewise, I think your Conduct has been free from Reproach; but the Malice of the World is so great, that you can scarce take any Step to avoid their Suspicions, and therefore should endeavour to avoid even the least Appearances that can give Occasion to their Obliquy; they have put a bad Construction on the frequent Visits the Duke of *Ormond* has paid you since your Stay in this City; as for me, tho' I am your Father, I assure you it is more Policy to shun his Love than to receive it, my Lord is not proper for you, and tho' he may have surprized your Youth
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into Love, you ought to guard against the Deceit.

The Daughter could not prevent uttering several deep Sighs, which convinced her Father that he had found the true State of her Heart: Ah! my dear Daughter, said he, do you not pronounce yourself guilty by your Silence, your Heart is sensibly touched in Favour of my Lord, and the little Guard you have had on yourself, in expressing your Tendernefs, is the Cause of the People's talking.

The Daughter was assured, by the Goodnefs that he had shewn in saying this to her, that he would not prevent her telling him upon what Footing we were, as to our Love, which she apprized me of by a Letter she wrote a little after: The Father well knowing the Passion his Daughter had for me, in the mean Time took all possible Methods to disengage her, and to break off all Conversation with me; he very well knew what a Noise it had made in the World, and that notwithstanding the Innocence of her Love, the ill Designers would not fail to suspect her Virtue, and to make her the Object of their malicious Discourses; and therefore he begg'd her for her own Sake, and for her Reputation, that she would put an End to all such Speeches, by complying with what he desired, for tho' it might at first give her Mind some Uneasiness, yet if she did not, her Honour, which was more dear, would be made a Sacrifice.

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It was in vain that I strove to renew the Thoughts of Tenderneſs in her, by ſending her a Letter, ſhe was determined by the Progreſs his Words had made with her, and he knew it was right, to ſhew his Daughter the Precipice ſhe ſtood upon by Love, which would make her reſolve to ſacrifice [it] to her Reputation; ſhe promiſed her Father ſhe would ſee me no more, and that to prevent my Return, ſhe would write me the following Letter:

The Counteſs of D-----'s Letter.

IN ſhort, my Lord, it is Time to break off our Commerce entirely, ſince I am perſuaded that you hold my Reputation dear to you, as to me, and I believe, for that Reaſon, you yourſelf will make a Reſolution never to ſee me more; your frequent Viſits to me have occaſioned a thouſand Cenſures on my Conduct, and tho' they can't ſay I have been guilty of any Thing criminal, yet I am concerned for my Reputation, for I would not have my Virtue ſo much as ſuſpected; you only know what my Heart muſt ſuffer on this Account, which, tho' I can't help being ſenſible of, yet this is the laſt Time I ſhall write to you; I ſhall all my Life preſerve the moſt tender Eſteem for you, happy for me, had that only been my Sentiments! It is in vain for you to write to me again; I wiſh you all the Glory that you can't fail of acquiring by your many brave Actions, the Intereſt I take in
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your Greatness, will always make me hear of it with Joy. Adieu.

My Heart was never more sensibly touched than at reading of this Letter; had it not been for the Post I was in, and which I could not quit, I had certainly fled to my dear Countess, and in the Transport of my Love I don't doubt but I had gone to the utmost Extremities; but her Father fearing lest her Love should again blaze forth at my Return, proposed an advantageous Marriage to her, with a rich Lord of that Place, who was at that Time much in Love with her; who perceiving he could not obtain Leave of her herself, address'd her Father, and told him, that as he could not gain an Esteem in the Daughter's Heart, he begg'd that he would use all his Authority to make her consent to an Alliance, which he knew would be so very advantageous both to him and her.

After her Father had engaged her to break intirely with me, he left her for some Time quiet, and when he thought it Time to propose to her this rich Match, he told her, that her Youth would not permit her to remain in the State she then was, and therefore he advised her to think of another Condition, and that he did not doubt of proposing one to her that would please her: This Proposition did not much surprize her, for she presently perceived how much her Father was in Con-

junction with her Amoroſo; ſhe immediately replied, that for her own Reputation ſhe had followed the good Advice of her Father, in breaking off all Converſation with me, but that ſhe did not believe any Conſideration could engage her to yield herſelf to a Perſon for whom ſhe had not the leaſt Inclination.

Her Father very well knew this Refuſal was owing to the Remains of Love ſhe had for me, and for this Reſiſtance did not fail to reproach her, that without Doubt ſhe had a Deſign to renew her Converſation with me, which would ruin her entirely, and that it would be better for her to make an Effort, and enter into a Marriage, which would diſengage her from ſuch Purſuits; at laſt, conquered by the preſſing Inſtances of her Father, and the Submiſſion of her Lover, ſhe determined to obey them; the Marriage was concluded, and after the Marriage, they retired to *Champaigne*, where ſhe paſſ'd her Life with many Tears, and much Regret.

This News did not immediately reach me, and I waited with Impatience for the End of the Campaign, hoping my Preſence might alter the Counteſs's Deſigns from what ſhe wrote laſt: We paſſ'd the Time till almoſt Winter, with only one conſiderable Action; the Duke of *Luxembourg* the *French* General, being apprized that the Army of the Allies was coming to encamp near *D'Acht*, and that this Motion was made with a Deſign to ſurprize him, during the Time of the March
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he received Advice that some Squadrons of our Rear-guard, had appeared within Sight of the Army, upon which the General advanced with some of the King's Household Troops, and marched up to the Rear-guard, who being apprized of his coming, were prepared to receive him, the Shock was violent both of one Side and the other, and the Engagement very bloody; in the End, after a smart Contest, our Troops retreated in good Order: It is true, the *French* had some Advantage in that Action, which was owing to the Vigour with which the Household Troops attacked ours, and the Superiority they had in Numbers; the Action of *Lenze* followed this, after which they sent the Troops both on one Side and the other, into Winter Quarters.

I was not long arrived in *Holland*, before I was informed of the Countess's sad Fate, her Husband was jealous to the last Degree, and never left her one Moment while she was in the Country, where he obliged her to remain: The Situation in which she was described to be, pierced my very Heart, but I was not then in a Condition to undertake any Thing for her Relief, otherwise than to talk as the Motions of Love directed me; it signified nothing complaining, I resolved to make no long Stay at that Place, which I quitted soon after to come to *England*, and endeavoured to cure myself of that Passion.

It was a Surprize to me, at my Arrival in *London*, to hear of the Disgrace of my Lord
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Churchill, who was known by the Title of *Marlborough*; he was so much in the King's Graces, that we believed it impossible to turn him out of his Favour; nevertheless he was obliged to quit all his Employments, his Wife was likewise ordered to retire, she was a Lady of Honour to the Princess of *Denmark*, and was suspected not only of carrying on Intelligence with King *James*, but also of complaining of the Government of the King, believing without Doubt, that they even deserved more than the great Benefits he heaped upon them.

I likewise had a Cause of Complaint, in a little Time afterwards I saw my Lord *Sidney* made Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, a Post which my Family had held, with great Honour, a long Time; nevertheless, I would not shew any Jealousy, knowing that the King considered and recompensed the Merit of every one, with a Justice worthy of the great Light he appeared in; and not long after he made me a Recompence, by giving me the Post of Major-General of all the *English* Horse, which I commanded in *Flanders* the next Campaign.

Soon after I followed the King when he went to *Holland*, and in a little Time to *Flanders*, to appear at the Head of the Army; the great Preparations which were made for that Campaign, both by Land and Sea, gave us Hopes that it would not end so quietly as the last: When we arrived at the
Army,

Army, the King heard that his Father in Law had an Intention to make another Descent on *England*; for which Reason, and to tempt the People, he promised them a general Amnesty, and an Exemption from divers Taxes; but I may venture to say, that he carried his Point no more by that Amnesty, than by his other Actions, and the King regarded this News only as an Opening.

But, in Effect, when he heard that King *James* was making Preparations for a Descent, (tho' the Victory the Fleet of the Allies had got over their Enemies, had a little damp'd the Spirits of King *James*) he gave all necessary Orders for that Affair.

The Fleet of the Allies being joined, made all the Sail they could to the Coast of *Barfleur*; after two Days sailing, they perceived the *French* Fleet coming up to theirs, about three Leagues off, the *French* had the Advantage of the Wind, and immediately prepared to attack the Allies, who without any Delay, ranged themselves in a Line of Battle, and resolved to wait their Motions; the Battle began with great Violence about Eleven o'Clock, and lasted for three Hours, when they were obliged to part by a Calm; in six Hours Time the Fight was renewed, and did not end till the next Morning; the *French* had some Disadvantage even at the first, and it would have been well for them if it had gone no further, the *French* Fleet was disposed into three Parts, and the Allies made

made three Parties of theirs to pursue the three of the Enemies, and recovered six Vessels, which they carried without Resistance to the *Hague*, and burnt six others, and some Merchant Men, which they found in the Way; it was thought they lost twenty Ships, and the Allies obtained an entire Victory, and repayed, with Interest, what they had lost the Year before, and took away the Suspicion the Admiral lay under, of holding a Correspondence with the Enemy. When King *James* heard of this Affair, any one may judge what an Occasion of Grief it must be to him.

This Advantage gained by the Allies, was a great Pleasure to the King, who was then in *Flanders*, at the Head of the *English* and *Dutch* Troops, and was at that Time carrying on the Siege of *Namur*, which the *French* had taken from us; the King would have added Succours to the Army against the Place, but the great Rains had swelled the Rivers they were to pass, in such a Manner, that the Waters would have carried away the Pontons, and exposed the Army to the greatest Perils; but tho' he could not perplex the Enemy that Way, he did not fail to do it another, and after having sought an Occasion for a long Time, he at last found one; his Majesty had Advice, that the Duke of *Luxembourg* had marched to the Side of *Enguien*, and had decamped with his Army from *Genappe*, where we had advanced to prevent the

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Enemies; in the mean time the Duke had got before us, and posted himself between *Enguien* and *Steinkirk*, the King, who desir'd but to attack them, dispos'd every thing for the Design; he gave the Command of the Advance Guard of the Army to the Duke of *Wirtemberg*, who so soon as he arriv'd within View of the Enemy began the Skirmish, and they Cannonaded one another reciprocally; a little after this, the whole Army was engag'd, and the Duke of *Wirtemberg* push'd the Enemy so vigorously with his Foot, that he drove them back, and took several pieces of Cannon.

The Heat of the Battle was not over before Night, and the Enemy made several extraordinary Efforts to get all the Advantage they could; they were in this Situation when Marshal *Boufflers*, who encamp'd two Leagues from the Duke of *Luxembourg*, arriv'd with some fresh Troops, and some heavy Cannon, the King took the Advantage of retiring from this Reinforcement, and the Night approaching, resolv'd to retire in good Order.

The Horse could not do much in this Action by reason of the Badness of the Ground they were upon, at which I was not a little Chagrin'd, because I thought this Time to make Reparation for the Battle of *Fleurus*; during our Retreat, the Enemy follow'd us for some time, but finding it to no purpose, they made a Halt and then retreated to their Camp.

Our Army. came off with some Disadvantage, the Battle was rude and bloody, and there were many Officers both on one side and the other, kill'd and wounded. The King was all Day in the Action, yet received never a Wound, tho' he took no more Care of himself than the meanest Soldier.

It was upon this Occasion, that the Duke of *Berwick* (since General of *France*) began to be taken Notice of as a good Soldier, he behaved through the whole Affair like a Man of Courage, and prov'd that he would one Day be (as we have since seen) one of the Best Generals in *France*.

The Duke of *Luxembourg* made a Speech to the King on this grand Subject, and that General very well knew how to form a right Judgment of things. The Marquess *Villars* distinguish'd himself likewise; as for me I was almost mad, at the Disadvantage we were at, by the Inaction of our Cavalry, but we made amends for it before it was long.

Very little after pass'd that Campaign, tho' the King did not fail to strive for a second Engagement with the Enemy, but he could not accomplish that Design without forfeiting the Character of a prudent General; but the bad Season of the Year advancing, he left the Army to go to the *Hague*, whither I followed him.

The Horrors of the War could not make me quite forget the Delights of Love; as soon as I arriv'd in *Holland*, I could not forbear

enquiring

enquiring after my fair Countess, and was told that she was come to the *Hague*, but that I should scarcely know her, she was so wore away, by the Torments she had suffer'd on Account of her Husband's Jealousy. This News reviv'd in me all the tender Thoughts I ever had of her, but I durst not seek after her, and resolv'd not to speak on that Subject, fearing lest her Husband should make her return into the Country, from whence he had lately let her come, to take a different Air, hoping that the Change thereof, might contribute to the Establishment of her Health.

Such was my Resolution when Chance decided it otherwise; I was one Night with a Lord of that Place upon some Affairs of Consequence, and entring with him into a Parlour, I found a Number of Ladies assembled there with their Spouses, -- but what was my Surprise, when at my Entrance I beheld my dear Countess, who I knew again, notwithstanding the Alteration which was made in her since I had seen her last.

It is impossible to express the Pleasure I took in this Situation, where it was strange but I should stay some time; we went with the *Dutch* Gentleman into his Closet, and after we had staid there some hours, we finish'd the Affair I had to transact; as we returned from the Closet, I found that most of the Ladies were separated into Parties, in one was the Gentleman's Lady I went to wait on, one of her Relations and the Countess; the

Surprize she conceived some Moments after I had enter'd in Conference with the *Dutch* Gentleman, was what she could not conceal; tho' that Surprize was attributed to the languishing Condition she was in, but the Tears which at Sight of me would appear, discover'd the true Cause, and excited in me the most tender Compassion. What would you have Madam, said the Lady, and whence flow those Tears which you now shed?

Upon these Words, looking affectionately at me, and shewing me to the Lady, she replied, that she might see in me the Cause of all her Misfortunes: View there, said she, a Lord for whom my Heart had entertain'd the most violent Love, which Love has Occasion'd all my Sorrows, I lov'd him tenderly, and he in return loved me; but my Father, by a fatal foresight, made me believe that very Love, would be unlucky to me, and oblig'd me to marry to avoid his Sollicitations, -- I believed all that he told me, -- I obey'd him and marry'd the Husband I have, hoping that my Love would grow to my Husband, from Habit and Matrimony; but my Hopes were disappointed, and my state is unhappy as you see, for I could not have any Affection for my Husband, neither did his Behaviour merit my Regard.

Coming from the Place where I had stood to see her, I answered her that I bore a share in her Misfortunes, and she could not imagine the Effect her Marriage had on my Heart; that

that without Doubt she was not yet come to such an Extremity, but Means may be used for your Love: If I should love you, replied she, I should be undone that Instant. Alas! Madam, replied I, tho' your Conduct in Regard to me, has not been like a Person who truly Loves, and the ready Sacrifice you have made to your Husband of the Love which is my due, and whom I can look on as no other than my Rival, ought to stifle, in me, my slighted Passion; Yet I declare to you, Madam, that my Heart can't cease to be your Adorer, and all the Accounts I hear of the Indignities you suffer from your Husband, move me in the most tender Manner, occasion'd by my Indignation for him, and augmented by my Love for you, makes me know that you are still more dear to me. It is true, continued I, that I have form'd a Resolution never to see you more, not that your Presence was not agreeable to me, but because I would not give any room for your Husband's Jealousy, which have turn'd to your Prejudice.

I allow, my Lord, said she, the Goodness of your Reasons; and the Pleasure your Presence gives me, makes me resolve to shun it for the Future; for I find that Duty cannot get the better of Love, nor will it I hope hinder me from feeding my Eyes with one dear Look. The *Dutch* Lady affected with our Conversation, told the Countess, that as she had plighted her Faith to her Husband, 'twas just to guard it; but that his jealous Suspicions would

would have deprived her of all Society and all Comfort. No Madam, replied the sorrowfull Lady, I was easy at being deprived of all Pleasures that I could take, because I hop'd it would make my Husband quiet, which was all that I desir'd; and to take away all Suspicion which he could have of my Lord, I desired him to accompany me wherever I should go. But now Madam, I must bid you Adieu; I have found my Fault, and must take my leave of you--- Adieu my Lord, added she, (looking tenderly at me) If I am miserable 'tis not your Fault.

After making this Confession, several Tears drop'd from her Eyes, and I could scarce refrain from the same. I gave her my hand, to conduct her to her Coach, where her Husband was before us, and at the same time I felt a sensible Pain, for I did not doubt but he would be jealous of this Rencounter, and the Idea I had of his Revenge, from what I had heard on other Occasions, made me behave to him with a Condescension which he did not deserve. I returned with the *Dutch Lady*, to whom I told what had pass'd between us; and she was uneasy knowing the uneasy Temper of the Man; for which Reason she resolv'd to visit the Countess the next Morning, and the Interest I had in that Affair made me return with the Lady, to know what the jealous Husband could say on that Event. She was uneasy to hear some News of the Countess, and went in good time, dreading some

ill Designs of her Husband, the least Tender of Friendship would make him suspect her Vertue, and he had heard of our talking together, and was mad to have a Rencounter with me; he was for going into the Country, and would have had her go with him.

Their Departure extreamly afflicted me, and 'tis hard to exprefs the Emotions of my Heart, when he set out for his Country Seat with the Countess, tho' it was but two or three Leagues from the City --- the *Dutch Lady* went after, and her Arrival extreamly surpriz'd the Husband; she went to enquire into, and if possible perswade him not to make use of so many Indignities as he had heap'd upon his Wife; he hesitated at first, but would not refuse such a Lady as her, the Sight of his Wife, nor could he resist the pressing Solicitations of so faithful a Friend.

She was shewn to the Countesses Apartment, where she found her in a dreadful Situation, she was in a Chair of State with her Eyes brimfull of Tears: As soon as the Countess perceived her Friend, her Voice fail'd her; she ran to embrace her, and gave her what Comfort she could under her Disgrace; but she was not in a Condition to receive any on that Head. My dear Friend, said she, approaching nearer her, I would speak to you, I came on purpose to see you -- you say nothing to me, is this the Reception you give a Person whom you love? the Countess recovering from her Astonishment was about to answer the

the Goodness of her Friend; but her Tears afresh obstructed her Speech, and she was some time before she could speak for Crying. At length the Lady who went to the Countess, broke Silence in the following Manner, I know my dear Friend the Situation of your Soul; disguise nothing to me, your Husband has, without Doubt insulted you, and not content to deprive you of the Company of those with whom you might pass some agreeable Moments, he has in his Fury us'd you with the utmost Indignities that his Fury could drive him to; 'tis too much, added she, and you may without any further stay, deliver yourself from the Captivity under which you now groan; neither need you ask leave of any one: Don't stand but follow me, my Coach shall conduct you with me to Town, and there we'll take proper Measures to deliver you out of the Hands of your unworthy Husband, the shame of his Behaviour will, and being robb'd of your Presence, will preserve us for some Time, and deliver you from his Persecutions.

What is it you propose to me, my dear Friend, replied the Countess, I have but few Days to live, and this will but encrease my Trouble; leave me to die, it will be better for me than to live under the Reproach I shall incur by such a Departure; for however innocent I may be, the World won't fail to interpret it maliciously, for I have already proved

ved on a less Account the force of their Detraction.

The Countess's Friend did not fail, to comfort her in the Resolution she had taken, neither did she forget to urge her utmost Perswasions to her to follow her, and cast aside her Grief, and entirely to quit all thoughts of dying, when she might enjoy all the quiet she would; conquered by her perswasions and being inform'd that her Husband could not possibly know of her Retreat, they came down immediately, and took Coach.

They took the direct Road to Town, but were scarcely got half Way, before her Husband arrived at the Coach-door, foaming with Passion, with a Pistol in his Hand, to avenge himself of his Wife for this Elopement she had made: This Sight so frightened the two Ladies, that they could not speak one Word; in the mean Time the jealous Wretch stopp'd the Coachman by Force, and ordered the Ladies to come out, if they would not immediately fall a Sacrifice to his Fury. The unfortunate Lady obeyed him trembling, and came out, after having embraced her Friend, to stand the Brunt of this Adventure;

It was thus that they parted, the Coachman continued on his Way, and carried the Lady with him; her Heart was in the greatest Palpitation, dreading the Effects of his Jealousy, which she every Moment expected. All this my good Friend recounted to me; I

was enraged at this Proceeding, and was almost tempted to revenge the unfortunate Lady, by sacrificing the barbarous Husband.

Some few Days after, we were informed that Heaven had appeared in her Defence, for that her Husband was dead of a Pleurisy, which had carried him off in three Days; the Countess did not long enjoy the Pleasure of losing him, he had so broke her Heart by his ill Treatment, that she could not long survive him, but in a few Days followed him to his Tomb.

Here see the Effects of uniting those whose Hearts have no Share in the Union; Matrimony, which was intended as a sacred Tie to advance the Happiness of the World, is made an Evil by the unworthy Use that is made of it, in making an Alliance between Hearts which can in no Measure concord with each other, and never consulting whether there is any Uniformity of Sentiments between the Persons united, but only to obey the Call of sordid Interest, which has produced this Instance of its unhappy Effects, and all the Acts of Violence of which I have been speaking.

The Pleasure which the News of the first Death gave me, was entirely dissipated by the latter; the Loss of the Countess made me know, that she was dearer to me than I imagined: But in order to obtain all the Ease I could, I took my Way to *England*,
where

where I spent the Winter much more agreeable than I thought was possible.

In the Beginning of Spring, the King went to *Flanders*, to put himself at the Head of the Allies; we arrived in good Time, for I should have told you that I followed him: It was thought that this Campaign would be a peaceable one, and that two such considerable Armies as the *French* and the Allies, would neither of them hazard a Battle without some particular Advantage, and which hardly appeared possible to gain, by Reason of the strict Watch they kept over each other; but notwithstanding these Surmises, it was one of the most bloody of all, occasioned by the Battle of *Landen*, where I thought I should have lost my Life, having received many Wounds, among the rest, two with a Sword, which seemed to be mortal. The Particulars of it are as follow.

Our Army was encamped near *Landen*, the Quarter of the *Bavarians* formed the right Wing, and the left spread out towards *Loo*, and the King of *England* was encamped at *Neerhespen*; the Duke of *Luxembourg* had made a Remark, that the Flank of our Army was uncovered, and knowing that we had sent a considerable Detachment to *Flanders*, and ten Battalions to *Liege*, by which we were very much weakened, resolved to march to us: he made a Feint as if he would attack them in their Lines at *Liege*, and to persuade us so, commanded his Advance-

guard to attack them, with a Battalion of 600 Fascines, and half a Squadron: We did not doubt in the Camp, but he would force the Lines of *Liege*, and with that View, sent away the ten Battalions I spoke of; the *French* General reaped an Advantage from the weakening of our Army, and waited three Hours in the Morning to come to the Attack; he arrived about Noon within Sight of our Camp; the King of *England* imagining, by this sudden March, that he had a Design to surprize us, kept the Army the whole Night in Order of Battle, which having pass'd in that Manner, about Break of Day we discovered the Enemy in two Lines, and by Sun-rise, they found a Welcome from our Cannon, which then began to fire upon them; during two Hours it was to no Purpose, but about Seven in the Morning, the *French* advanced to our right Wing, and the Battle began in good Earnest.

We were attacked in many Places, and they were attacked in as many; the *French* perceiving they could not force our right Wing, immediately turned upon the Left, but there, tho' they were vigorously repulsed, yet their Attack was more favourable to them, their Horse advancing in great Numbers, drove back our Foot; the King advanced with fresh Troops to assist those who gave Ground. I also advanced to sustain the weak Party; the Enemy, at that Time, attacked the *Dutch* Horse in Flank, who were put in Disorder

Disorder before I could get to their Assistance; and upon this Occasion I found I was obliged to charge thro' the *French*; the Troops I commanded behaved with the greatest Bravery, and charged so fiercely into them, that we found ourselves surrounded; the King finding the *French* to have the Advantage, gave Orders for a Retreat, which was so well done by our Generals, that the Enemy could not attack the Army in their Retreat.

But the Troops I commanded, were too far engaged before, and could not retreat without charging back thro' our Enemies, and which had so surrounded us, that it was not easy to do; notwithstanding which, we found a Passage, and it was upon this Account that I received so many Wounds, or else I believe I had escaped: The Loss of Blood having made me not able to keep my Horse, I was taken Prisoner by the King's Guards, and conducted to their Camp, whence, a little after, I was delivered in Exchange for the Duke of *Berwick*, who had been taken by ours.

This Battle ended the Campaign; and the Winter approaching, would not permit us to continue any longer; the King returned to the *Hague*, and afterwards to *London*, where I followed him, as soon as my Wounds were cured: As a Mark of the Respect which the King bore to our Family, he made my Brother a Baron of *England*, and in that Quality he was called up to the House of Peers.

All

All this Winter pass'd in Business, and necessary Preparations for the approaching Campaign: It was said, in Order to make a Descent on *Provence*, the Duke of *Savoy* put them in the Head of that, he promised to join the Allies on that Side, but he could not perform; it he omitted that Enterprize to a more favourable Opportunity, and turn'd all his Strength on the Side of the *Low Countries*, to which the King went in the Beginning of the Spring; I attended him, but nothing happened that Year remarkable enough to be mentioned. After the Season was over, we returned to *London*, where the People received the King with all imaginable Tokens of Joy; for it was agreed on all Hands, that he deserved to be beloved; he was a great Soldier, an excellent Man in the Cabinet, and more a Father than a Master of his Subjects. He was the most powerful Rival of *Lewis* the XIV. and if in this last, he had not met with an Adversary too valiant and too experienced, *Europe* would not have resisted the Rapidity of his Conquests.

I liv'd at that Time amongst the greatest Monarchs of the Age, the most experienced and best Generals *Europe* could afford; for I believe it will hereafter be difficult to find a *Lewis* the XIV. a King *William*, a *Vendosme*, a *Luxembourg*, a *Catinat*, a *Villars*, a *Marlborough*, an *Eugene*, and others, who tho' not the first in the Account, yet every one of whose Names deserves a perfect Elogium.

The

The Death of the Queen of *England* happened soon after our Return to *London*, which put the Nation in a general Consternation, who were not prepared for so harsh a Stroke. A Sickness of eight Days carried off this Queen in her Youth, who was beloved by the Nation in general, the Delight of the People, the Comfort of the Afflicted, and who should not have died, if Virtue could have saved her from the Grave.

Her Distemper appeared fatal from the first Moment ; the Love which the King bore to that Princess, was equal to her Merits, and the Love and Tenderneſs which ſhe bore him ; he went to her Chamber, which he never quitted during her Illneſs. The ſixth Day finding her Diſtemper increaſe, ſhe received the Communion from the Hands of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, accompanied by nine other Biſhops, before whom ſhe gave Marks of Piety beyond Example.

Some little Time after, being ſenſible by her Weakneſs increaſing, that ſhe had not long to live, ſhe took Leave of the King her Husband, who had not yet quitted her ; that mournful Scene drew Tears from all the Attendants ; as there was not a more happy Pair than their Majeſties, you may imagine how tender and ſenſible their parting muſt be : From that Moment ſhe loſt all Knowledge, and gave up the Ghoſt about One in the Morning.

The

The Constancy and Firmness which never before abandoned the King in the greatest Dangers, seemed to have left him at that Instant ; he did nothing but sigh, and perfectly fainted away : I would not leave the Prince, but took an Opportunity to have him carried from the Chamber where the Queen died, and the Physicians judged it proper to have him let Blood, fearing that he could not survive his Grief : As soon as he came to himself, they begg'd him to have some Regard to his Health, on Account of himself, his People, and the States, the Preservation of which Heaven had put into his sacred Hands.

The Sorrow for the Queen's Death was soon spread all over *London*, and all the World shew'd an Affliction that could scarce be equall'd ; the Queen was truly the Mother of her People, who all deplored her Loss as in that Respect, and by Floods of Tears shewed the Tenderness they had for her.

It is a Custom in our Country to break the great Seal of the Kingdom, at the Death of the King or Queen, that Ceremony was with Grief performed, after which the Privy-Council ordered Matters for her Interment.

Thus died *Mary Stewart*, Queen of *England*, *Scotland*, *France* and *Ireland*, at the Age of 32 Years, and some Months : She was Daughter of *James* the II. and *Anne*, Daughter of *Edward Hyde* Earl of *Clarendon*, and Lord High Chancellor of *Great Britain* : She was
mar-

married to *William-Henry Nassau* Prince of *Orange*, and afterwards King of *England*.

Two Days after her Decease, her Corpse was removed from *Kensington* to *Whitehall*, where, after being embalmed, she was put in a Coffin covered with purple Velvet, which is the Colour of deep Mourning in *England*; all the Officers and Domesticks of his Majesty followed the Body in their Coaches, where it was deposited for some Time, till the Parade could be got ready for the Procession.

During these Preparations the King pass'd some Time at *Richmond*; that Prince was inconsolable for the Loss he had suffered, but in the End, having called Reason to his Assistance, he dined in Publick, and began to manage State Affairs to the Content of all the People.

Some Time after, the Queen's Funeral was celebrated with a Magnificence worthy the Love he bore her Memory: Several Ladies cloath'd in Black, four and four, preceeded by the Marshal, began the Procession, they were followed by a Gentleman carrying the Union, and by several Officers of his Majesty; then came the Singers of the Chappel Royal, and the Sheriffs of the City of *London*; then the Speaker of the House of Commons, and the Lord Mayor following them: then came several Noblemen, carrying the Standards of *England*, *Scotland*, *France* and *Ireland*, and those of the different Provinces, the Equire
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of the late Queen leading a Horse all covered with purple Velvet, the Arms, the Crest, the Sword and Cushion, were carried by the Heralds at Arms, the Body of the Queen came immediately after, it was carried in an open Chair, with a most superb Canopy, garnished with purple Velvet, and covered with a Pall of Cloth of Gold; upon the Coffin were placed the Globe, the Crown and Scepters, at the Head and Feet sat a Lady of the Bedchamber to the Queen; this magnificent Chariot was covered with purple Velvet with gold Fringes, and drawn by eight Horses, covered with the same; the Pall was supported by several Noblemen: After the Chair, came the Dutchess of *Somerset*, who was grand Mourner, the Ranks were divided by the Heralds of Arms, the Trumpets, the Hautboys, and the Gentleman Pensioners, and the Yeomen of the Guard, who began the Procession, which was from *Whitehall* to *Westminster*, where the Corpse was laid under a grand Mausoleum, which was raised for that Purpose in the Middle of the Choir.

After the Funeral Ceremony was performed, she was interred in *Henry the VIIth's* Chappel, all the Bells in Town toll'd, and a Gun was fired every Minute, the same was done in the King's Ships, it being a Custom upon the like Solemnities; this Funeral Pomp but encreased in every Heart the Grief which was occasioned by the Death of a Queen so much beloved as she was.

Tho'

Tho' the King was extremely afflicted, yet he did not fail to head the Army of the Allies in *Flanders*, where he distinguished himself by the Siege of *Namur*, which he took from the *French* in Sight of their Army; who by the Conduct of the King could not hinder his obtaining the Place: After that Expedition he returned to *England*, where his Presence was highly necessary. He had so much the Love of Glory at Heart, that he scrupled not taking any Pains or undergoing any Fatigues; for which Reason he passed and repassed the Sea twice that Year, I followed him thro' all his different Voyages with incredible Satisfaction; all the Pains I underwent were Pleasures in his Presence, which I gladly bore, pressed by Ardour to imitate and follow so great a King, and for the Glory of my Country.

Europe had been long imbrued in Blood, and the Horrors of War, but in the End, was happily restored to Peace by the Treaty of *Ryswick*; all the Powers concerned, were reconciled by the Mediation of *Charles* the XIIth of *Sweden*; tho' the Peace was indeed desired by all the World. *France* was extremely weakened by so long a War, and the Allies were not much less, tho' they acted only against one Enemy.

The Peace being renewed, Commerce flourish'd again, and every one felt the agreeable Pleasures thereof. For me, having nothing more to expect on the side of Glory

and Honour; I began to dream of the Delights of Love, but the Misfortunes of my first Passions, and the Tragical End thereof, hindered me from engaging anew; my Heart could not bear to remain in Inaction: But you have heard what was the Effects of that Love, and what was the Conclusion.

It is customary for the Great to be guided in the Choice of those Persons whom they shall unite with by no other Views than Interest or Honour; the Uniformity of Character or Sentiments are with them but weak Motives, and hardly claim their Attention, that fatal Custom is the Vice of almost all Nations and all Degrees, but more particularly the Nobility; they come together ill adapted, which produces an eternal War in their Families, and destroys the Honour of their Houses; being Master of my self and my own Will, I resolved to avoid entering into an Engagement of such Consequence, which is often attended with fatal Inconveniences, in spite of all Precaution. The Tranquility which the Peace had established in *England*, permitted me freely to give myself up to my Pleasures; and I thought of nothing but how to amuse my Heart agreeably; I viewed all the *English* Ladies, and was puzzled to make my Choice from such a Number of beautiful Persons, for my Wish was to obtain the Beauties of the Person, with the Ornaments of the Mind.

I had

I had already form'd a Resolution that Love should not drive me to any thing, and that I would stifle the first Emotions thereof soon as I found them; but all my Precautions were in vain, among a great Number of Ladies, the most excellent Beauties; my Heart weigh'd up the Ballance, and determined altogether in favour of my Lady B—— not that she was more beautiful than any of the rest; it was owing not only to a Regularity she had about her, that made such Attractions, but to an uncommon Emotion that made me no longer Master of my self but her Slave.

I was in a continual Agitation to declare my Love to her, a thousand little Accidents happened in our daily Pleasures, that in some Measure interpreted the Sentiments of my Heart, which I was sensible did not wholly displease her, but there is a wide difference between barely Pleasing and Charming; in short, being resolved to come to an Explanation with her, I spoke to her upon a Day, soon as I found an Opportunity. Madam, it is not for the Praises which I can't avoid paying to your Beauty, that I take this Pretence to let you know the Sentiments with which you have inspired my Heart, I am not accustomed to such Language, nor is it for the sake of holding idle Discourse; it is to let you know, *I Love*; suffer me, Madam! to ask if from that Love I may build any Hopes, and

and answer me if you permit me to pursue that Passion.

This Declaration made her Blush, which I esteemed as a lucky Omen : Do you well consider, my Lord ! answered she, of what you say ? is it possible that a Person wholly devoted to Glory can give any Instances of Love ? how would it appear, if without any reserve, I should the first Moment hold this like Discourse with you ? Yes ! Madam replied I, my greatest Glory is to love you, and do not think that this Love has its rise from Variety, or that Levity will destroy it ; when I love 'tis in earnest, and I think it more Shame to impose on the Credulity of any Lady, than to commit any other Crime, far different from a great Number of my Sex, who raise their Trophies from being faithless to a Sex that Merits our Adorations.

It is true, my Lord ! added she, that your Sincerity astonishes me ; is it possible that you should not be infected with the same Sentiments as other Men ; ah ! my Lord, leave me, I find that my Heart is too much affected with your flattering Discourses ; and in spite of the Precaution which I had taken to guard against all you cou'd say, I find that you have shook my Constancy, and almost broke my Resolution.

At these Words we were interrupted by some other Persons coming in, when our Conversation became general ; my Heart groan'd under the Misfortune, but I bore it patiently,

patiently, and suffered with a cruel Uncertainty the Ill that press'd me; for, from that Time, she took no Regard of me, nor had I the Pleasure of coming near her.

Several Days pass'd without any favourable Opportunity presenting itself, and not knowing how to get the Speech of her, I took a Resolution to write to her, and to acquaint her by a Billet, that since our last Discourse, my Flame for her was more lively than I could express, and the vast Desert I had discovered in her Mind that Day, had redoubled my Passion; and that if she designed to give me an Answer, I should by that know whether I had any Hopes of a Return for Love so sudden and so perfect.

I had no sooner form'd this Resolution, than I wrote what I had determin'd; during the Interval of my Writing, till her Answer, I was in the utmost Impatience, for the Moment on which depended the Happiness or Unhappiness of my Life, was coming to a Decision; and the Perplexity I was in caused a thousand different Emotions in me: What Joy will it be, (said I) if she should consent to crown my Love with a reciprocal Ardour? No Happiness could be equal to it! The Moment I entertained these Thoughts, others, but far different from the first, succeeded: What a fatal Blow would it be to me, continued I, if, by a fatal Insensibility, her Answer should refuse the Offer of my Heart, and oppose my Happiness; who knows, tho' Spite
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of the Disdain which she has shewn to Mankind, but there may be some one that may charm her? If there be such a formidable Rival, either his Loss or mine, will be the Effects of our Love: 'Twas thus that I reason'd, 'till I had almost lost my Reason; when the Messenger, whom I had sent to her, that caused this Emotion, appear'd with a Paper in his Hand, I took it trembling; yes, I, who had fronted the most dreadful Dangers of the War, and without Dread, expos'd myself to the Fire of the Enemies, with trembling received from a Woman a Writing, which was to decide her Indifference or Love, and my Weakness almost made me insensible for some Moments; at length I open'd the Letter, which was this:

The Billet of M-----.

YOU can't imagine, my Lord, the Effect your Talking of Love has had upon me; the small Charms which you said appeared in me, was the simple Effect of Gallantry; which tho' you perhaps might say of Course, I freely own to you, has made some Impression on my Heart, which even now pleads for you; I found so much Sincerity, so much Truth in your Sentiments, that it will no longer let me be insensible, and the being sensible of it, much resembles Love; tho' I had resolv'd to refuse all Tenders of an Engagement; in short, it is as
you

you could wish, and all I have to wish is, that you are Sincere, -- I have said too much, the Interest I have in your Freedom and Ease, forc'd this from my Heart -- Adieu ———

The Perplexity I was in before the reading of this Letter, was chang'd into the most ravishing Delight, for from that Moment my Desires were accomplish'd. This Letter left me no Reason to doubt of her Heart, and I saw plainly that her slow Resistance was but to redouble the Price of the Conquest.

The first thing I had to do, was to go and find her, and to throw myself at her Feet, to express the Joy I felt, for her having given me an Answer to my Love. I was full of this Intention, when I enter'd an Antichamber, thro' which I was to pass to her Apartment; the first Object that struck my Sight, was my Lord *W* --- at my Mistresses Feet, whose Heart I believ'd he had touch'd, and my Defeat appear'd too plain.

I was surpriz'd at this Sight, which was the most terrible one that could be to my Love. My Lord *W* -- knew not the reason of my Looks, but my Lady knew too well, and was exceeding troubled; but looking with an Air which argued an Innocence of Mind, she began thus: My Lord, said she, you are the properest Person to judge of this Event, if you please to take the Trouble. I cannot by any means attend to my Lord's Importunities, and I would not have him by a vain Passion

expose himself to any kind of Ill; Ah! Madam replied the Earl, with a passionate Air, why will you thus encrease my Pain? My Lord, here see the Excess of my Passion, and that her cruel Answer implies is, that she would not expose me to any Sorrow, when at the same time the being depriv'd of her Heart is the worst of Torments, and all others to me are but Trifles.

What different Situations was I in, what various Emotions agitated my Heart one after another! Rage, Jealousy, and Vengeance were the first, this Image excited in my Heart; and then again I was a little calm'd by the Noble Assurance with which my Lady B-- appear'd on that Occasion, the Words with which she address'd my Lord, and the Air of Resolution that I have mentioned, reviv'd my Spirits, and I found myself more easy from the Sorrows which my Lord W-- was in; Altho' he was my Rival, I thought he had reason to complain, and I suffer'd for the Despair which I saw in his Visage; and he was as much mov'd as I fear'd for him, the People of our Nation without any difficulty deprive themselves of Life when once they grow unfortunate, or when they are once balk'd in their Projects; this Grandeur of Soul never pleas'd me; I always took it to be rather a Weakness; but all the World does not think alike; and the violent Agitation the Earl was in, made me fear least he should attempt something of this kind.

In

In the mean time he went abruptly out of the Room, and out of the House, it was in vain that I attempted to stay him; he went away insensible. After he was gone, my Lady B -- very much displeas'd without Doubt, being surpriz'd at the Manner of his going away, and willing to know what I thought of this Event, spoke to me in this Manner: I don't know, my Lord, what Impression what has been done may have made upon you, but be it as it will, it is a good Lesson to me to avoid any Engagement; I have suffer'd much blame, and have taken this Resolution; for even the most trifling Appearances may hurt one's Reputation, and I am resolv'd never to expose mine to encrease a Passion, the Effects of which are commonly Fatal.

I was struck with surprize at a Language so strange, and so opposite to the Letter I had receiv'd, so that for some time I knew not what to answer; but in short I resolv'd to come to an *Enclaircissement*.

Is it possible said I to her, that this Accident can any ways alter you? is this agreeable to those Hopes, with which you flatter'd me in your Letter? How! -- but perhaps you Love another; I shall be unhappy, and your Strictness will deprive both you and me of the Delights of a mutual Love. Ah! Madam! consider, if you don't entirely hate me, when I have made you sensible of my Passion, you destroy by Violence and the Hardness of your

M 2 Heart,

Heart. You think wrong, my Lord, said she, interrupting me, you have made such an Impression on me, that the Violence you lay to my Charge should be your own. Well Madam then, answer'd I, is it possible that you can be indifferent, or resist the Sincerity of my Love? shall we shew our Tenderness, and by a speedy Marriage assure us of each other? Your Proposition, replied she, is a sincere Proof of the Sentiments you have of me, there is a time when we may answer with Tenderness reciprocal, and the Eyes may give Consent to an Union; and I shall find with Satisfaction, that I shall have a Spouse with whom I pass my Life agreeably -- Ah Madam cried I, let me breathe out my Joys; your Goodness has surpass'd my utmost Thoughts: Yes, Madam, our Days will all be spent in Love, and I feel in this Assurance the Satisfaction of many happy Years. After mutual Assurances of Eternal Tenderness, I quitted her in order to hasten on our Marriage.

I communicated my Amour and my Resolution to a Friend, whom I desired to speak to the Earl of *M*-- who could most contribute to my Happiness. As I was highly in the King's good Graces, and one of the most considerable Families of the Kingdom, he did not much hesitate to answer to my Pressures: he was charm'd with the Alliance; after we had settled the Articles, Love would not balk my Attention, nor could I quit a Moment my future Spouse; the Approach of our Marriage redoubled

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doubled our Flame, and the approaching Day was expected with the greatest Impatience both on one side and the other.

At length the fix'd Day was come within a few Hours; I waited on my Lady *B*——, and the Morning was fair for our Journey; but how foolish are our greedy Hopes, the Severity of Fate, or the Malice of Mankind, dash'd our Felicities, and destroy'd all the Measures we had form'd, by making us most unhappy; for as I was getting into my Coach, I received a Blow with a Poniard in the Breast; my Servants ran, but in vain, for they could not apprehend the Assassin, it was a most terrible Blow, and given with prodigious Fury; in the mean time, I lost a great Quantity of Blood; I strove in vain to conceal the Accident from my Mistress, it was impossible for me to go far, and I found myself insensibly fainting away; the Porter of the House was no sooner apprised of the Misfortune, then he told the whole World; judge the Trouble which my Lady *B*—— felt at hearing this News, in a Minute all the House were about me, some of them carried me to a Chamber, where I was taken care of, others went for a Surgeon, who examined and dress'd my Wound.

In the mean time, my future Spouse was grieving for my Misfortune; the Tears which she shed were certain Marks of her Tenderness; but what was a worse Stroke to her, was, one of her Servants more imprudent than the rest, demanded what the Surgeon thought

thought of my Wound ; who answered, that it was extremely dangerous, and he was afraid would be mortal ; this unhappy Talk not only encreased her Tears, but entirely depriv'd her of her Senses. Then all their Assistance was employ'd to bring her to herself ; this double Grief filled the whole House with Confusion ; when she recovered her Senses, they did all they could to assuage her Grief, by telling her my Wound was not so bad as they imagin'd ; but the Impression the Servant had made, persuaded her to the contrary ; and now she only thought of recovering all the Strength she could to support herself under the dismal Tidings of my Death.

The next Morning the Surgeon came again to dress my Wound, and found it not to be so dangerous as he at first thought, and gave me hopes of a speedy Recovery ; the Surgeon spoke to the Lady, to tell her how much better I was, but she could receive no Consolation ; there certainly is in the Hearts of two Persons who love each other, a natural Sympathy, that moves both to the same Inclination, and it is very difficult to impose on Lovers.

In the mean time my Wound grew every Day better and better, and some few Days after I found myself in a Condition to sit up, he judg'd it proper for me not to see my Love ; for fear lest the Turn which her Presence might have in me, might be fatal, especially as I was then very weak ; but so
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soon as I was found to be better, my Lady B—— was permitted to see me; you can scarce imagine the Emotions we felt at this first Interview, the Dread that we should lose each other, and the time that we had passed, without seeing or hearing or speaking to one another, filled our Hearts with a Torrent of Tenderness, that poured itself out in an abundance inexpressible, Words were wholly lost; and tender Embraces and Eyes flowing with Tears, made all our Conversation; 'twas thus we continued for some time; when all that passed between us, or all we could understand from each other's Words, was, that we wanted Expression to shew the Terror we had been in by our late Situation.

After we had given all possible Demonstrations of our mutual Affection, I thought of nothing but celebrating our Marriage.

I did not exactly know the Motives of my being thus Wounded, nor could I make any probable Conjectures; for which Reason I did not care to speak much about it, my Love made me forget the Pains I had suffer'd, or whoever was the Author of them; in brief the happy Day I so much desired, and for which all Lovers sigh, arriv'd: Our Marriage was concluded, and I in Possession of my Dear Mistress. It is impossible to depict the Happiness I enjoy'd with her: Imagine to yourself, two Lovers, after the Danger we had pass'd, feeling all the Delights, and all the
Transports

Transports of a mutual Ardour; now we had all our Desires, and our Joys could find no Encrease, and there was some Hopes we should live together a long time.

The Death of the King of *Spain* now happening, caus'd new Troubles in *Europe*; the Emperor pretended a Right to that Kingdom, but *France* obtain'd it; a Grandson of *Louis XIV.* was crowned; and his Accession to the Throne renewed the War between the Houses of *Austria* and *Bourbon*: And it was well for *France*, that she had introduced one of her House into so flourishing a Monarchy as that of *Spain* and the *Indies*; forgetting all the Treaties she had made, she broke with *England*, in acknowledging a CERTAIN PERSON the only King thereof, and with *Holland*, by several Outrages and Infringments on the States; so that both on one side and the other they prepar'd to declare her a Common Enemy.

The Satisfaction of possessing my lovely Spouse, did not at all damp in my Heart the Love of Glory; and I can't help saying, I received with Pleasure this Opportunity of signalizing myself; the King finding the War unavoidable, entered into a Treaty of Alliance, between *England*, the States General, and the Emperor; 'twas their Common Cause, and the King's Experience promised them Success in all things: But, alas! This Prince, the Deliverer of *England*, the Support of the Empire, and the Defender of *Holland*, could not perform the glorious Work;
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inexorable Death cut short the Thread of his Days; as he was Hunting, he got a Fall from his Horse, which he did not think dangerous, and tho' the Physicians assured him, and indeed it look'd so, that he would entirely recover from that Accident, in a few Days; yet he found that Death had attack'd him; for some few Days after he was seiz'd by an intermitting Fever, accompanied with a Vomiting, which soon chang'd into a continued Fever, which reduced his Majesty to a most weak and languishing Condition.

I did not leave the Prince during all his Illness; and being sensible that his End approach'd, he gave me his last Orders, and that he had nothing to think on but another Life; He sent for the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who, assisted by the Bishop of *Salisbury*, administered the Communion to him; and from that Moment, to his Death, he gave the strongest Marks of Piety and Resignation to the Will of God; he preserved to his last Words a true Freedom of Spirit and Judgment; nay even to his last Sigh, and even when his Face had all the Terrors of Death, his Mind was not in the least dismay'd; his noble Heart that had behav'd so bravely in all the Perils of War, did not lose it even to the last Moment; and he gave up the Ghost with a Tranquillity that even robb'd Death of his Conquest.

Thus died *William III.* King of *Great Britain*, the formidable Rival of *Lewis XIV.*

on whom 'tis needless to make any Elogium; two Days after his Decease, his Corps was open'd, and they found his Lungs dried up, and sticking to the Sides, his Heart extreamly lessened, and there was scarce three Ounces of Blood in the whole Body; so that the Physicians assured me, that if he had not had that Fall from his Horse, he could not live more than three Months.

So soon as he had render'd up his Spirit, I with several other Lords, and the Members of the Council met at St. *James's*, where we took an Oath to the Princess of *Denmark*, who was proclaimed the same Day with the usual Ceremonies, and we signed the Proclamation to that purpose. Two Days after her Majesty herself appear'd in Mourning, bearing the Marks of the Royal Order of *England*, the Garter on her Arm, the Blue Garter, and the Garter and Star; afterwards she received the Addresses of Condolance upon the Death of the King, and her happy Accession to the Crown, from both Houses of Parliament.

The Grief on Account of the King's Death was universal, but it was a little appeased, by the wise Management of the new Queen; and the Rejoycings which were made upon her Accession to the Throne, carried in their Mirth the joint Consent of every one; I was one of the first that felt the Benefit of her Government, by being made Master of the Ordnance, with which she honoured me.

In the mean time, *France* persisted in sustaining the Right of the *Pretender*, and would not acknowledge any one but him for our lawful King; and *England* was but the more irritated against him for the Interest which *France* took in his Affairs, after Queen *Anne* had come to the Throne, to the Joy of all the Kingdom; the Hatred that was conceived against him, was partly owing because he was in a Place that would inspire him with the same Sentiments as his Father, that is to say, Despotick Power, and the Extinction of the reform'd Religion, which was the Reason they would not hear any thing of him, and that the Elector of *Hanover* quietly enjoy'd the Crown; whose Government and Maxims rendered it Hereditary; the Refusal of *France* to acknowledge Queen *Anne*, made them resolve to oblige *Lewis XIVth* to give that Princess the Honour which was her Due. The King's Anger made him take the same Course, and he made Preparations to follow exactly the Designs he had form'd. We hastened with all Diligence to fit up the Fleet in which I was to embark. The Duke of *Marlborough*, whom the King had sometime since recalled from his Exile, and heap'd new Benefits on him, was no less in Favour with the new Queen; she honour'd him with the Order of the Garter, and sent him to *Holland*, to treat with the States General to engage them to

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join their Forces with ours against the *French*.

All Things being in a readiness, War was declared with *France*, jointly with the States General, our Allies; the Duke of *Marlborough* went into the *Netherlands*, to command the Troops which were to act on that Side; and I sailed with the Fleet for the Expedition of *Cadiz* and *Vigo*; which well deserves an exact Relation of what passed, for the *English* and *Dutch* by that Enterprize lessened the Power of *France*, and I met with a Glorious Reception at *London*, after an Action of such Importance.

After we had sailed a long Time, our Fleet at last got View of *Cadiz*; we examined, and founded the Mole, which being done, I detach'd an Officer in a Shallop with a white Flag, to carry a Letter I had wrote to the Governor of the Place; in which I remark'd, that he had served in *Flanders* against the *French* in Favour of the House of *Austria*, and hoped that he would not now hesitate to declare for the same House against *France*; and that the Design of the Queen who had trusted me with her Forces, added I, as well as of the States General, was no other than to maintain the Rights of the House of *Austria*: And I declare in their behalf, that all *Spaniards* who do not oppose our Troops, shall be protected in all things; but that if they do not concur with the Intentions of the Powers of whom I had spoke; the Governor
and

and the People would be the Cause of whatever Hostilities should commence.

The Governor answered, that he had always served his King with Honour, and that he would preserve his Fidelity to *Philip V.* whom he acknowledged for the only lawful Heir to the *Spanisk* Monarchy; after this Answer, we made a Descent near the Port of *St. Mary's*; I was the first that landed, and the Army that I commanded followed my Example.

A *Spanisk* Squadron commanded by a Major General, opposed us first; but his Rashness cost him his Life; he advanced about thirty Paces before his Men, who seeing themselves without a General, retired after some Skirmishing, in which they lost several Officers; it seemed that he who had the Command of the Squadron, came with a Design to unhorse me, but he was unfortunate in his Design.

I drew off the same Day with Part of the Army towards *Rota*, the rest I sent by Sea; and we took Possession in the Name of the Emperor, and in the mean time, the rest of the Army disembarked; two Days after the Forces being assembled, I march'd in four Columns, a Party of *Spaniards* observed us Step by Step, but notwithstanding the many discharges he fired on us, it did not so much hurt, as the Loss we sustained by the Heat of the Sun, which was insupportable in the gravelly and narrow Ways; in so much that
several

several of our Soldiers died in this March; in four Days time we took two Towns, and the Fort of *St. Catherines*; the Garrison of which surrendered at Discretion, the Governor fled, and the Soldiers were made Prisoners; though according to the Rules of War, they deserved to be put to the Sword: I permitted the Soldiers to eat and drink in the Villages, and some that exceeded this Commission, and began to plunder, were hang'd upon the spot; and I put the Lieutenant General under an Arrest, for not hindering his Troops in committing the like Hostilities.

As I had made myself Master of these three Places, and with the Loss of but few of my Men, it was resolved by a Council of War, which I had called, to attack the Fort of *Matagerda*, the better to facilitate the Siege of *Cadiz*; to that End, I ordered three thousand Men to erect the Batteries against it, but we found the Earth so bad and so Marly, that after we had made several vain Attempts, we were obliged to quit it as impossible. The Troops which I commanded on this Attack, were sadly maul'd by the Cannon of the Fort and of the Galleys. I perceiving that we could not succeed in this Enterprize, and having better Designs in View, I embark'd the Troops, after having called another Council, and we bore away to the Coast of *Vigo*.

The Fleet was but just put off when we detach'd Captain *Hardy*, who returned and told

told us, that Monsieur *de Chateau Renard* was arrived at *Vigo* with a Squadron of *French* Men of War and the Plate Fleet; Sir *George Rooke* the *English* Admiral, and the *Dutch* Admiral shewed much Joy at this News, on which we immediately called a Council, and came to a Resolution to attack, and if possibly destroy the Vessels; upon which Resolution, we bore away to that Coast, and entered the Port of *Vigo*, notwithstanding the prodigious Fire of the Enemies; 'tis true, that a favourable Fog arose, which hindered them from discovering our Fleet before we were pretty near them; the *French* Vessels and the Galleons were in the narrow Passage, they had the Castle and Platforms on one Side, under the Cannon of which they could the better defend themselves against our Entry.

It appearing to be a difficult Enterprize, we called a Council, where it was resolved that we should detach five *English* Vessels and ten *Dutch* ones, with all the Fireships which attended the Fleet; because it would be running too great a Risque to attack them all at once; that the Bomb Vessels should follow in the Rear-guard of the Fleet; and the great Vessels be ready to enter if it was necessary; we resolved too, that the Army should land and attack the Fort which was in the middle of the *Rondodello*; accordingly I landed with two thousand Men, about half way up the River; and I commanded the Grenadiers to
march

march under my Lord Viscount *Shannon*, directly to the Fort that defended the Entrance of the Port; there were about eight thousand Men in the Fort and the Mountains, but when our Troops advanced, they retired in great Haste after some Skirmishes, and our Grenadiers got one of their Batteries; the others seeing themselves repulsed on several Sides, retired into a Castle called the Tower of *St. Peter*, from whence they sallied upon us several times, and having opened the Gate for that purpose, the Grenadiers entered the Castle by Force, and made themselves Masters thereof.

All the Vessels that were nearest the Enemy, broke their Cables and came up with them, receiving all their Fire, they attack'd them notwithstanding with all the Bravery imaginable, and pass'd in spite of all their Efforts the Bomb which they had made with their Cables, Chains, and other Implements; at the same time I attack'd the Fort, and the Noise of our Cannon had so terrified the Garrison, that they yielded at Discretion; I march'd directly to *Rondodello*, where I found part of the Gold and Silver of the Galleons; our Ships had no sooner pass'd the Bomb, but they fir'd several of the Enemies Vessels, some they blew up, others they run aground, and made themselves Masters of the rest; the Victory was doubtless as compleat as could be; there were as I said before 8000 Men, who were Commanded by the Prince de *Barbancon*. But

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then they were a confus'd Heap got together, and without discipline, for when we appear'd, several of them took to their Heels and sav'd themselves in the Mountains.

Monf. de *Chateau Renard*, after the Firing of his Vessels, retreated to *Compostella* with the Sailors and Soldiers, and return'd to *Vigo*, after we had left it, and carry'd off every thing of Value. He went without doubt to gather up the Wreck of his Fleet, but the Fire had spar'd him no more than we had spar'd him, and he could not find so much as one Vessel, in the Room of which but a few Days before he had Commanded a Rich and numerous Fleet. In the mean time I left a good Guard at *Vigo*, under the Command of Sir *Cloudefley Shovel*.

After this so considerable, and gainful Victory, we sail'd towards *England* with the Riches we had got; I arriv'd at *London*, and went to pay my Compliments to the Queen and Prince of *Denmark* at St. *James's*; her Majesty return'd me her Thanks for this Expedition, and received me with all possible Tokens of Satisfaction, and Admiral *Rook* equally received several Marks of the Queen's Bounty: He arriving some few Days afterwards; tho' I received all the Satisfaction imaginable from my Success in the War, yet my Pleasure was infinitely greater to see again my dear Spouse; my Arrival was to her a Subject of the greatest Joy.

In the mean time the House of Commons presented an Address to me, to thank me for the great Services I had done the Nation; I answer'd the Chancellor who spoke to me in the Name of the House, that it was the greatest Honour that could be confer'd on a Subject to be presented with such an Address; that as for me I had done but my Duty, but the Troops which I commanded had behav'd with the utmost Courage and Intrepidity; and then desir'd him to return my Thanks to the House for the great Honour they had done me.

Then a Day of solemn Fasting was order'd to return Thanks to God, for the happy Success of that Campaign; soon after I arriv'd, the Queen went to the Cathedral Church of *St. Paul*, with the two Houses of Parliament, the Speaker of the House of Commons began the Procession, in his Coach, follow'd by 400 others, there being scarce a Member absent; after them came the Lords, led by the Barons, follow'd by the Viscounts, the Earls, the Dukes, the Bishops and Arch Bishops, all in their Robes of Ceremony; and all the Street from *Temple Bar* to the Church was lin'd on each side with the Militia of *London*; a Detachment of the Life Guards came with a Company of Grenaders, following a Coach and Six in which I was with the Duke of *Somerset*, three Coaches and Six followed us, carrying the Maids of Honour to the Queen, and after them came her Majesty

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jeſty drawn by eight ſtately Horſes, and with her were the Counteſſes of *Marlborough* and *Sunderland*; the Body of the two Houſes received her Majeſty at her getting out of her Coach, the Duke of *Somerſet* and I met her with a profound Reverence at her Entrance into the Church, and he in quality of a grand Squire gave her his Hand; and conducted her to a Throne which was prepared for her in the Body of the Church, where the Biſhop of *Exeter* preach'd a Sermon; and after the Prayers, the Engliſh *Te Deum* was Sung to Muſick, which had not been done before ſince the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*; during the Ceremony, there was a triple Diſcharge of the Cannon at the Tower and St. *James's*; at the Concluſion the Lord Mayor accompani'd by the Sheriffs, reconducted the Queen to *Temple Bar*, the firſt bearing the City Sword, and his Head uncovered, both going and coming; the People accompanied the Proceſſion with inexpressible Acclamations of Joy, attended with theſe Words, *Long live the Queen! long live the Duke of Ormond*: Nor can I help ſaying, but that theſe Acclamations of the People excited in my Heart a ſecret Joy, for I had a pleaſure in obtaining the Victory, but this Triumph greatly augmented that Pleaſure, and I cannot but think this much the happieſt part of my Life; for who could deſire more than to ſee themſelves favoured by a powerful Queen, the Delight of the People, and the Friend of his Country.

Some Days after, Sir *Cloudefley Shovel*, whom I had left at *Vigo*, arriv'd in *England*, with the Rest of the Booty which we had taken from the Enemy, and which I acquainted the Parliament with together with Sir *George Rook*.

I thought there should be some little Liberty given to the Prisoners we had brought from *Spain*, I went myself to visit them to know from their own Mouths, if they would have me apply to the Queen for their Liberty; I presented their Suit to the Queen, and her Majesty gave it a gracious Reception, there were one and twenty Officers, and among them was the Governor of *Rota*.

I then gave in an Account to Parliament of our Expedition to *Vigo*, jointly with Sir *George Rook*; on our plundering the *Galleons* we found a great Number of Ingots of Gold, several Bars of Silver, and some Jewels of a great Price, but the chief of the Riches consisted in *Cochineal*, *Campechy Wood*, *Cocoa*, and divers other Merchandizes of Value, the whole amounting to a Sum of immense Value.

Her Majesty, as a Mark of her Regard for the Services I had done her, appointed me in Council Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, and I accordingly prepar'd to depart to that Kingdom to take upon me my new Posts; in the mean time we were exceedingly ill treated by *France*, the *English* Prisoners, which the Queen us'd to have in reprisal for others, were

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denied coming, unless our Prisoners were sent first; tho' this Treatment was very bad, I undertook to speak in their Behalf, which I did accordingly; for before my Departure for *Ireland*, I obtain'd leave of the Queen that the Prisoners should return into *France* upon their Parole of Honour, conditionally that they should return if they could not procure the Liberty of the *English* who were detained there. I invited them all to Dinner before their Departure, which they accepted with Pleasure, and seemed very joyful for what I had done for them, and sorry for the Cruelties that had been exercised by them against our Nation.

At length I went to take Possession of my Lieutenancy; I was accompanied by several Persons of Distinction, who went with me out of Town in forty Coaches and six, and two hundred Horsemen; I arrived at *Dublin*, where I was receiv'd amidst the Acclamations of the People, the ringing of Bells and the firing of Guns. The first Thing I did after my Arrival was to visit all the Fortresses, and Havens of the Kingdom; then I sent circular Letters to summon a Parliament to assemble on St. *Mark's* Day; I open'd with a Speech to both Houses, exhorting them to repair the Fortifications for the Good of the Kingdom, I assur'd them that, my Inclination, my Interest, and the Example of my Ancestors, laid me under an Obligation to let slip no Opportunity for the Good and Prosperity of the
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Place where I had my Birth, that I would give them all the Instances possible of it; besides the Zeal and Fidelity which I owed her Majesty would make me vigilant that they should not be hurt in any Manner.

The two Houses presented an Address to me, by which they inform'd me, that their Intention was to concur with me; and to testify their Zeal to her Majesty, they thank'd me for the Interest I took in the Happiness of the Kingdom, and promis'd to act in concert with me to render it flourishing, and to repair the Disorder into which it had been plung'd by the late Revolution. I returned thanks to the Houses for their obliging Address, and assur'd them I would inform her Majesty of the Zeal they had to her sacred Person, and the high Esteem they had for her wise Government; they continued the Sessions for four Months, and I gave my Consent to divers Acts for the Good of the Place; after which the Parliament broke up, I went to *London*, finding my Presence was no longer necessary in *Ireland*.

At my Arrival I was saluted by the Queen and the Prince of *Denmark*; 'twas in that Year that the famous Battle of *Hocksted* happened, where the Duke of *Marlborough* and the Allies gained so compleat a Victory. I must inform you, that tho' the Queen heaped so many Benefits upon me, I began to be very uneasy at my Inaction; the Tranquillity that I was in, at a time when all *Europe* breathed
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nothing but War and Battle, was to me insupportable, and the Honours conferr'd on me did not in my Opinion ballance the Pleasure I should have taken at the Head of an Army. This was the Motive of my Jealousy to the Duke of *Marlborough*, which I entertained for the Reasons I have said; War was my Sphere, and for him I was displaced; the Queen was so charmed with my Conduct in *Ireland*, that she every Day made me more and more sensible of her Gratitude, by conferring still new Benefits upon me; I press'd her to let me make the following Campaign; she answered me that I was too useful in *England*, and that she could not suffer me to depart.

Many Persons were continually speaking of the good Will the Queen had for me, in such Terms as made her perceive that she had rewarded me with too much Bounty for a Subject; for our Nation is always apt to rail against any Subject who is happy in the good Graces of his Sovereign; and this is a Proof that Kings are no less liable to Censure than other meaner Persons; on the contrary the high Station they appear in, makes them the Subject of every one's Censure, all People are ready to spy their Failings, one wrong Word will affront a whole Nation, so true is the saying, *that the People are the Sovereign.*

I can't mention the Memory of this Queen, but with the utmost respect, which I shall ever preserve, notwithstanding the Talk of Strangers, and even the *English* themselves
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against her Royal Dignity ; which they have treated with the utmost Detraction ; that Princess loved and recompenced all, but she always acted like a Queen, she had always a regard for Virtue, which will make her Name distinguished as the best of Sovereigns to all Posterity.

The Queen would keep me at home, still continuing to think me of more Service there than at the Head of an Army ; I returned to *Ireland*, where I convened a new Parliament, I passed all proper Acts, and the Kingdom was so well pleased with my Attention to the Publick Affairs, in regard to their Interests, as well as her Majesty's, that they returned me their Thanks by a most obliging Address.

After the breaking up the Parliament, I again returned to *London* ; I possessed the Lieutenancy for three Years, after which the Queen conferred it upon another Lord ; preserving to me at the same time, the Post of Grand Cupbearer of *Ireland*, and Chief of her Majesty's Privy Council there.

It is impossible to tell the many Favours I received from my Sovereign ; the Jealousy which it created in others, made me envy'd by every one, insomuch that one among them could not forbear giving his Opinion in open Parliament, and spoke thus haughtily, that her Majesty took all her Advice from one certain Peer of the Realm ; but his Rashness was very much blamed, and himself order'd
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to be taken into Custody ; for in some Measure he despised the Queen's Government, which at that Time rendered *England* the most glorious and triumphant Nation in *Europe*.

We had obtained a new Victory by the Battle of *Ramillies*; our Enemies were past all Hopes of ever renewing their Loss ; the Allies triumph'd over all, and *Louis XIV.* seemed to be eternally vanquished, and the obtaining of our Laurels were the withering of his ; *France* was tore to Pieces on all Sides, the Duke of *Savoy* and Prince *Eugene*, with Succours from our Fleet, enter'd *Provence*, and the Kingdom of *Naples* acknowledged King *Charles* for her Sovereign : But notwithstanding all the Victories they had got, his Spirit was still above complaining.

Notwithstanding all that was done to make me out with the Queen, my Fidelity to her was well known, and the Proofs I had given on that Occasion, were sufficient Proofs of my Attachment to the Interests of her Majesty, and the Good of the Nation : Among other Things which were reported, one was, that the Queen had a Regard for me that amounted almost to Love ; tho' this Report was Calumny downright ; for tho' she was frequently obliged to pass some particular Moments with me, our Conversation always was on the publick Good.

It is true, that the Affair of the Succession of *Great Britain* came upon the Tapis ; the

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Queen many Times carried me into her Closet, to demand my Opinion on a Subject of that Importance, and trusted me with her whole Thoughts thereupon: This came in Dispute, in order to fix it on the Protestant Branch, and to exclude the pretended Prince of *Wales*.

It must be observed that the Parliament of *England* would not allow his Birth to be right, by which Means he was hinder'd from ascending the Throne; but the Queen thought to get the better of this Opposition of her Subjects, but she could not accomplish her Hopes.

And the better to bring this to bear, *France* form'd a Design to make a Descent upon *Scotland*, where the Pretender was to go at the Head of his Troops to embark; but this Design was prevented by the Vigilance of the Queen who opposed it.

In the mean Time the Parliament, enrag'd against *France*, as well as the Pretender, demanded the Queen's Consent to the Act of Exclusion, and to fix the Succession of the Crown of *Great Britain*: The Queen, whom the nice Situation of that Affair embarrass'd, demanded of me, many Times, my Opinion of that Matter; I told her my Sentiments, and the Queen seem'd to be unwilling to give her Assent to that Act, which the Parliament so strenuously insisted on: Nature seem'd to plead in his Behalf: However, I reconciled her in an Instant thus far, that she should

should act against *France*, but to do nothing against that Person.

Several simple Conjectures were made by the World about this Time ; the Death of the Prince of *Denmark* redoubled the Remarks which were made on the Queen and me, and when I could not quit her Presence, but endeavoured to comfort her under her Loss, it was vilely insinuated that my Consolations did not consist barely in Words : The Queen shortly after gave an uncertain Answer to an Address that was presented to her, desiring her to remarry, that they might have a Successor to the Throne of *Great Britain* ; and they had the Cruelty to say, that I was the Occasion of that Refusal, and that I wished that the Queen would have no Heir to *England*.

For some Time the *English* were quiet inwardly ; the Parties who had long divided the Kingdom, content with the Advantages they had both got, laid aside their Enmities for some Years, the Parliament were wholly in Favour of the Whigs, and the Tories would not make any Dispute of that Advantage.

The Queen, like a good Mother, received and recompensed both one and the other equally ; and tho' I was a declared Tory, I was possess'd of some of the first Posts in the Kingdom, an Exception, of which some of them were jealous.

This Tranquillity in common could not last long, a Sermon preached by Doctor *Sacheverell*, set them first in Motion, and the Vehemence of that Affair begun again the Contest of the two Affairs, and set on Foot all the rest; the Doctor was entirely of the Party of the Tories, and had it not been for the Favour of the House of Lords, who were chiefly composed of the same, he had suffered all the Pains which the Commons would have inflicted on him.

This utterly discomposed the Whigs; they pretended that the Sermon was calculated only to disapprove the Conduct of King *William*, and the present Government; and further, that it tended to set the Pretender on the Throne, and to exclude the House of *Hanover*: The other Side insisted, on the contrary, that the Sermon only was for the Liberty of the Church of *England*, and the Good of the Kingdom in general.

This Business was push'd so far, both on one Side and the other, that the Queen was obliged to dissolve that Parliament, and to call another, which she hoped would proceed with Unanimity for the publick Good; but notwithstanding all her Precautions, her Majesty had not the Success she wish'd for, and there was at *London* many Disputes on Account of electing Members for the several Counties, nor did these Tumults end till after the Parliament assembled.

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The Whigs who had triumph'd for some Years, met with a severe Mortification, to see the Parliament, which they imagined would be of their Party, intirely changed, and that the Tories got the better; but their Astonishment was much greater, when they perceived that the Queen had declared for us, and that she gave the Ministry and Posts to those of the same Opinion.

If the Benefits and Employments with which the Queen honoured me, occasioned several ill-natur'd Reflections against her Majesty, there were no less on the Queen's declaring for our Party, and conferring the chief Employ on Tories; on the other Side, the Whigs complained in the most grievous Terms, and push'd their Fury so far, that they even defamed the Queen and all her Council.

It was reported that her Majesty would again name me Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, which considerable Post had been earnestly solicited for a Whig, but in vain; and this Refusal did not a little contribute to animate that Party against the Court and Council, who were both against them, as might be seen by the different Changes that had happened to their Disadvantage.

Nay, so far did their unaccountable Vengeance drive them, that they pull'd away several of the large Braces of Iron that sustained the Wood-work of the West Arch of *St. Paul's*; their Design was, that it might fall
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upon the Queen and her Council, whenever they came there to celebrate the Divine Service, for some signal Advantage gained over their Enemies ; but this horrible Design was discovered, and strict Search made after the Perpetrators and their Accomplices, but to no Purpose, the Attempt was concerted with so much criminal Prudence: In the mean Time, the Queen continued to support the Tory Party, and the prodigious Changes that happened soon after, so weakened the Whigs, that they could not believe they should ever obtain any Degree of Power again.

Soon after, the Parliament was opened in the usual Manner, the Mutiny was appeased, and the Whigs finding it impossible to depress the contrary Party, waited for a more favourable Opportunity, hoping that Time would bring them all the Power they desired.

We were informed, in the mean Time, that the Abbe *de Bourly*, (Brother to Count *Guiscard*, formerly a Lieutenant-General in *France*) who was a Refugee at *London*, and tho' an Abbe, took upon him the Name of Marquis *de Guiscard*, held a criminal Correspondence with *France*, of which the Queen and Council being informed, he was arrested in St. *James's* Park, two of her Majesty's Messengers having taken from him his Sword, and searched his Pockets ; they conducted him to my Lord *St. John's* Office, then Secretary of State, where a Committee of the Council

Council were assembled, among which were the Duke of *Buckingham* and myself.

We examined him accordingly concerning the Correspondence of which he was accused; he denied the whole, but Mr. *Harley* shew'd him several of his Letters which had casually been intercepted; and having remonstrated to him the Enormity of his Ingratitude to a Queen who had honoured him with her Protection, and who had given him several considerable Pensions, the Rage he discovered at seeing these, transported him so much, that he snatch'd up a Penknife, which was on the Table, with which he gave two Strokes at Mr. *Harley*, but by good Luck the Knife broke at the first Stroke, which carried it asslant, which was the Reason that the second did not enter very far, notwithstanding he made a Third at the Duke of *Buckingham*, which he had the Presence of Mind to stop.

All the Company was enraged, and scarce knew what to do against such a furious Wretch, that seemed determined to stab us all; I immediately drew my Sword, to wrest the Weapon out of his Hand; they all followed my Example, and in the Confusion which was occasioned by his Resistance, he received three Wounds with a Sword, two of which were given him by Mr. *St. John*: In the End, we made ourselves Masters of him, and he was sent to Newgate: In the mean Time, we sent for Surgeons to dress Mr. *Harley*,

Harley, and I ordered one to look after the *Abbe de Bourli*, but he took all the Pains in the World to make an End of himself; after he had been in Prison some Hours, he desired to speak with me, whither I went with several Lords; but he would not change his Design, neither would he acknowledge what he had meditated against the Government, and spoke of the Letters which they had intercepted, but in slight Terms.

The next Morning I returned to the Prison by the Queen's Order, and told him that her Majesty had given her Royal Word, to afford him her Favour, if he would declare his Crime, and his Accomplices; but he continued thoroughly obstinate, and would confess nothing: I told him that next Day he must prepare to be judged by the Rigour of our Laws, and that after that, he must not expect a Pardon: He made me no Answer, but the Message seemed to make him delirious, and in that Condition he spoke the most extravagant Things that could be.

We did not fail to take new Measures for the Safety of her Majesty's Person, and of the State; in the mean Time, the *Abbe's* Wounds grew worse, and he would not admit of any Remedy; he died in a little Time after, and escaped by that Death the ignominious one which his Crime deserved; his Corpse was immediately pickled, it being believed that he would have been made an Example of, but

but the Queen's Goodness would not permit it, and she ordered him to be interr'd.

Immediately after, I took Leave of the Queen to return to *Ireland*, and take upon me the Charge of Lord Lieutenant, I was received at *Dublin* with inexpressible Demonstrations of Joy, and far different from those which are ordinarily given to Lord Lieutenants; and during the Time that I occupied that Post, I so well managed the Interests both of that Kingdom, and of the Queen, that they were perfectly in Raptures to behold me in the same Quality, not only as their Lord Lieutenant, but as I had done more Services than others to the Publick.

So soon as I arrived, I called a Parliament; they began directly, and proceeded with the utmost Unanimity, but then a Thing arose, which occasioned some Alteration, and which obliged me to prorogue them; I afterwards finished the Sessions, to the publick Satisfaction: After which I returned to *London*, her Majesty having wrote to me that my Presence was necessary there.

What Change, and what a Chagrin was it to some, and what Joy to others, when I arrived at *London*; all were in an Emotion, the Duke of *Marlborough* was removed from every one of his Employments, and the Duke of *Somerset* likewise. The Queen made a Speech to the Parliament, to inform them of the Preliminaries of Peace, and to assure them, that nothing should be done without their Consent, and but for the Good of the

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but the Queen's Goodness would not permit it, and she ordered him to be interr'd.

Immediately after, I took Leave of the Queen to return to *Ireland*, and take upon me the Charge of Lord Lieutenant, I was received at *Dublin* with inexpressible Demonstrations of Joy, and far different from those which are ordinarily given to Lord Lieutenants; and during the Time that I occupied that Post, I so well managed the Interests both of that Kingdom, and of the Queen, that they were perfectly in Raptures to behold me in the same Quality, not only as their Lord Lieutenant, but as I had done more Services than others to the Publick.

So soon as I arrived, I called a Parliament; they began directly, and proceeded with the utmost Unanimity, but then a Thing arose, which occasioned some Alteration, and which obliged me to prorogue them; I afterwards finished the Sessions, to the publick Satisfaction: After which I returned to *London*, her Majesty having wrote to me that my Presence was necessary there.

What Change, and what a Chagrin was it to some, and what Joy to others, when I arrived at *London*; all were in an Emotion, the Duke of *Marlborough* was removed from every one of his Employments, and the Duke of *Somerset* likewise. The Queen made a Speech to the Parliament, to inform them of the Preliminaries of Peace, and to assure them, that nothing should be done without their Consent, and but for the Good of the

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Kingdom. Some of them voluntarily represented to the Queen, that she could not make a lasting Peace, without taking *Spain* from the House of *Bourbon*; others maintained, that it was taking away from the Royal Authority, to make such Clauses: And in Truth so it was, the Right to make Peace or War belongs to the Sovereign only, according to our Laws; but the Whigs, who were not Favourites at Court, examined Things like angry Curs, ready to bite wherever they could.

The Spirit of Party only animated them, and the Whigs were certainly in an Error, as they would have seen clearly at this Time: Would they not have it that the Way to direct the Balance of *Europe*, would be to leave the Emperor only Master of the great States? And was it the Way to make that Balance equal, to suffer *France* and her Allies, *Spain* and the King of *Sardinia*, to take from the Emperor the Kingdoms of *Naples*, *Sicily*, and Part of the *Milaneze*? And what would have been the Consequence had these been left to *Spain*?

But they were infatuated, and their Hatred only guided them; nay, they did more, they attributed the Disgrace of the Duke of *Marlborough* to the Advice which the Tories had given the Queen; and when I was declared General of her Majesty's Troops, in the Room of the Duke, to me they attributed it then: But I hardly think it worth while to answer

to so unjust an Aspersion; I always regarded the Duke of *Marlborough* as a great Man, a great Soldier, and worthy to be remember'd to latest Posterity; but all these great Virtues were not exempt from some Foibles; and no one can say, but it was a mean Action of so great a Man to receive annual Presents from the Commissaries of the Stores, those Blood-suckers of the Army, who enrich themselves, but impoverish the poor Soldier, and who, under the Pretence of furnishing Things necessary, draw large Sums of Money from their Sovereign, which they share with the General; by which Means they may destroy both Prince and Soldiers: Or who can excuse his taking, during the Time of that War, two and a half *per Cent.* out of the Pay of the foreign Troops? Was not this a heinous Crime, and for which many have suffered Death? and for which the Marshal *de Marillac* deservedly lost his Head upon a Scaffold.

I have said nothing but what is known to the whole World, and even the Whigs themselves very well know his Weakness in this Case; and all that he had to retaliate or hide these Actions, was his obtaining so many glorious Victories: And all we can say is, that we ought to imitate his Virtues, but not his Vices.

In brief, I took upon me, in the usual Manner, the Charge of Captain-General, and prepared, according to her Majesty's Orders, to

go to *Holland*, and after that to the *Netherlands*, to command the *English* Troops and the Auxiliaries in their Pay.

The false Colours that were spread on my Conduct, on that Occasion, were I to answer them, would make a whole Volume to set down my Reasons why I acted contrary to their Opinions; but I was but little disturbed at what they said, nor did I regard the Obloquy that they made Use of on that Account, by being conscious to myself that I was not liable to blame by any good Subject, or any true *Englishman*.

These were the Instructions that the Queen gave me at my Departure, in a Memorial sign'd with her own Hand.

YOU are to go to the Hague, with all possible Speed, and you are to inform the grand Pensionary, that you are chose to command our Army in the Netherlands; and we order you to confer with him, before you go to the Head of our Troops; you are to represent to him, that our Intention is to continue the War with the utmost Vigour, until the Enemy accepts of sure and honourable Conditions of Peace, for us and our Allies.

You are to tell that Minister, that you shall keep a perfect Intelligence with all the Generals of the Allies, and particularly with those of the States, and you hope to find the same Dispositions of their side.

After

After these first Overtures, which you are to make to the Pensionary, you are to form a proper Plan for the Operations of the Campaign.

When you arrive upon the Frontiers, you are to join Prince Eugene, and the other Generals, who are assembled, and to take with them all convenient Measures, in order to enter on Action; and soon after your Arrival you are to receive all the Regiments in that Place, both of their Party and ours, and make yourself sensible of the Force and Condition of all in general.

You are to keep a constant Correspondence from time to time, with one of our Principal Secretaries of State, and to send exact Relations of all your Proceedings and all that happens.

Sign'd A. R.

If my Conduct was afterwards blamed, it was not for want of following these Instructions, for I believe I did not vary from them in any one Point during all my Demarches.

After I had taken my leave of the Queen, who upon that Occasion shewed the real Esteem she had for me; I departed from London, being fully resolved to continue the War with the greatest Ardour; I arrived at the Hague, and paid a Visit to the Pensionary, and treated with him pursuant to my Instructions; I insisted strongly to know the Plan on which we were to proceed in the Operations of the following Campaign; the
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Pensionary would not tell me any otherwise than that he had projected a particular Plan, which he left to the Prudence of the Generals, and that he was a Judge of what was proposed to do, and this was the only Answer I could get.

I was several times afterwards in Conference with the States Deputies, by whom I was informed that they had taken all proper Resolutions with Prince *Eugene*, who was gone from the *Hague* to *Tournay*, a little before my Arrival; but from the Pensionary they referred me to the Deputies of the Army; who told me indeed, they had Orders to confer with me for the taking of proper Methods for the Publick Good, and much excused themselves for having given the Command to Prince *Eugene*, and added we should be equal in Authority.

It was believed that the Preference which was given to the Prince, was only to prevent my acting against the Enemy, they being well acquainted with my Character and Sentiments, and that I had no View but the Publick Good; the Testimonies which I had given to King *William*, and since that the Expedition of *Vigo*, ought entirely to free me from all Reproach on that Head.

After I had resolved to enter upon the Campaign as soon as possible, I could not by Reason of my being detained so long at the *Hague*. I went to *Ghent*, where after I had left a Guard in the Cittadel of *English* Troops,
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I went to *Tournay*, where I met Prince *Eugene* and the Deputies of the States General. At my Arrival I reviewed the *English* Troops, and they were all constrained to acknowledge, that tho' we began the Campaign sooner than ordinary, yet I never saw them more Compleat or better Habited; it is true, that the *Hollanders* were as soon in the Campaign as ours, yet in some things they failed; in regard a great Number of the Imperialists were not arrived, and did not arrive till some time after; notwithstanding the false Reports which were artfully spread abroad concerning the Preparations of the Allies, I believe that there were few Troops in a much better Capacity to act than ours.

In the first Conference which I had with the Prince and the other Generals, I made several pressing Instances to them to quit *Tournay*, and open the Campaign; I found them all irresolute but the Prince, who wanted as much as me to enter on Action, so we were obliged to wait some Days for the Negotiations which were on the Tapis; and 'twas this pretext that thus shamefully retarded our Troops; notwithstanding we opened the Campaign fifteen Days after.

During this Delay, Prince *Eugene* and Monsieur *Veghlin* came to me; we resolved to pass at *Bouchain*, to try for an Opportunity of attacking the Enemy without any Disadvantage, and in Case that was not possible we resolved to invest *Quesnoy*, which
tho'

136 *The LIFE of JAMES,*
tho' it was not a small Place could not hold
out a Month.

It was with a View to these different Resolutions that we regulated the Division of the two Armies, one of which was commanded by the Prince, and the other by me; I had under my Command, seventy Battalions, and 138 Squadrons; all the Troops of the Queen, and which were paid jointly by her and the States General.

The Division being thus made, we gave the necessary Orders to assemble the Troops to pass the *Scarp*, and form the two Armies between *Doway* and *Marchiennes*, where the Prince and I joined our Forces, and concerted proper Measures for the ensuing Part of the Campaign; and there I received two Expresses from Mr. Secretary *St. John*; the first of which was as follows:

I Have discovered by our Correspondents at Holland, that they are not without some fear on Account of their new General; they begin to find out that he is a Papist, and in the *Almain* Interest; that the Emperor his Master would lose nothing in the Netherlands, and that one Battle gained, would carry the House of Austria to the utmost of their Pretensions; that they imagined that a Battle lost would prolong the War, and that both in one and the other Case, the Queen and they would be still answerable for the Effusion of so much Blood. I imagine added he, that these Reflections arose
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from the States Generals Instructions; who without doubt, would not permit them to act contrary to the Designs of the Prince, and you very well know how lavish they have been in their Praises, and that he was publickly complimented in the Name of the States.

In the other Letter he wrote thus:

HER Majesty desires to know, what Limits the Hollanders have prescribed to the Authority they have given to the Prince, in making him Commander in Chief; her Majesty confirms by this Advice, that all the English or Foreign Troops in her Pay shall be under your Command; it is true, continued he, that she may perhaps have reason to act otherwise; but at present she insists on this. It is not necessary to explain to you the Reasons there are at this Conjunction, to be jealous of the Conduct of Prince Eugene; you better know than I can express it; but the Queen ordered me to let you know that her Intention was, that you should not engage in any Action unless you think the Victory almost indisputable; wait till the Imperialists have reinforced their Army, for it is not just but that they should be equally ready on any Occasion: he finished his Letter by informing me that the Article which prevented the Union of the two Monarchies, could not be entirely settled, that it was a sad Gnawing to the French Stomachs, but they

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had but one point to get over, and then he did not believe there could be any Difficulty.

I answered these Dispatches by giving him a Relation that the *Hollanders* had broke thro' my Orders, that I did not forget that my Instructions were jointly with the Allies, to carry on the War with the utmost Rigour, that I could not for they hindred me of taking an Opportunity that presented itself of attacking the Enemy with great Advantage; that the Deputies pressed me not to make use of those means, because they were informed from *England*, that the Peace was at the Point of being concluded, and which Peace was on very good Terms. I added, that for all this Delay, in Behalf of the *French*, I hop'd to have the good Luck to force them to accept the Conditions propos'd by the Queen.

This however, did not hinder the Army from marching at the time fixed; I took my Quarter at *Marchiennes*, where in concert with Prince *Eugene* and the other Generals, I resolv'd to approach immediately to the Enemy; we all agreed that the Army should pass the *Escarot* and encamp; the Right commanded by the Prince at *Neuvills*, and the Left which I commanded at *Solemes*; and to preserve a Communication with those on the Scarp, they employ'd for several Days the Troops to repair the ancient *French* Lines, between *Dennin* and *Walters*, and drew a Parallel from the Bridge to *Beaupair*,
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but we left Troops sufficient to guard the Convoys against any thing the Enemies should attempt.

During these Transactions, there arrived an Express, which brought me a Letter from Mr. Secretary St. John, by which he let me know, *That they had great Reason to believe that the Article to prevent the Union of the two Monarchies, France and Spain, was concluded; insomuch that they only waited the return of a Courier dispatched from Versailles to Madrid; and that it was the Queen's express Orders that I should avoid engaging in any Siege or any Battle, till I received fresh Instructions; and her Majesty desires, added he, that you will keep this Order Secret; she don't deny but you can find Pretences for your Behaviour in such a Manner as will answer her Intentions; she can't see without Horror her Soldiers sacrificed, at a time when she had hopes of obtaining her Demands another way. He concluded by telling me, that the Order had been Communicated to the Court of France; so that if Marshal Villars was to send me any secret Message, I should answer him agreeably.*

The Army's march was fixt for two Days after, I was not a little embarrassed in receiving such Orders; I made all the Pretences I could to stay, as that I could find no Forage but round the Camp where I was; but nevertheless, I was obliged to follow their

first Resolutions, and to march with the others.

Our Army was rank'd as we had before concluded; I resolv'd for my part to yield an entire Obedience to the Queen's Orders; for tho' nobody, as yet, suspected that I had such Orders, yet I was terribly embarrass'd in that Situation of Affairs.

Prince *Eugene* and the Deputies press'd me mightily to undertake a Siege, by which means they would be enabled to give Battle advantagiously; what excuse could I make? All our Troops had joined the Army, in such a manner, that it seem'd an impossibility for me to disguise the true Reason why I should refuse their proposition of coming to Action.

The Night before we decamp'd, I received a Letter from Marshal *Villars*; to acquaint me that the King his Master had received the Queen's Orders with Pleasure; that we were no longer Enemies, and that his Master had order'd him to keep this inviolably Secret, conformable to what I had received; I answer'd him that I had the like Orders, and that I could not but confirm exactly thereto, as all the Measures depend on this being kept Secret; as to my Troops marching, you need be under no Apprehension, for I shall plead that the Troops absolutely cannot subsist in Forage but where they are.

As soon as the Army were encamp'd, Prince *Eugene* and the Deputies propos'd to me

me to send the Quarter Masters to examine the Situation of the Enemies Camp ; I could not refuse my Consent without giving them Suspicion of the Orders I had received ; the *French* were encamped behind the *Escout*.

The Quarter Masters found an opening a League and a half after they had entered the Sources of the *Soame* and the *Escout*, where the Enemy had an Entrenchment, and we might find Means to attack them with Advantage ; for they were posted in such a Manner, that we might take them in the Flank, and at the End of their Trenches.

The next Day Prince *Eugene* and the Deputies came to Dinner with me, and told me the Resolution they had taken to march to the Enemy's Camp, and to attack them without Delay.

What plausible Pretence could I make to excuse myself from undertaking an Action, that by all Reports was so very advantageous : My Trouble was extremely great, as you may judge ; in the mean Time, I endeavoured to find out an Affair that happened ; the speedy Voyage of my Lord *Strafford* to *England*, made me believe that some Business of the last Importance was upon the Carpet ; I took the Opportunity of staying behind four or five Days, in which Time I received new Orders.

This Evasion did not content Prince *Eugene* and the Deputies ; they told me this confirmed
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ed the Suspicions that they had for some Time before; and what more confirmed their Suspicions was, that Marshal *Villars* did not shew so much Vigilance as formerly, nor had so much as sent one Man to observe our Motions, nor had taken any Precaution to cover his Camp from an Attack: They added, that they thought themselves obliged to inform their Masters of the Delays that I had occasioned, and how long they had waited for me.

During the Time that these Things were on Foot, the two Deputies came to see me, and presented me with a long Memorial, which contained all that they had before said; adding, that they desired to know what were my Orders, and what Foundation they had to depend upon her Majesty's Troops; in short, they required me, in Behalf of their Masters, that I should not prevent the Troops in Pay of the two Powers to act conformably to their Agreements, and the solemn Treaties by which they were united; the Memorial ended, which the *States General* had thus ordered them to send me: And the Publick may very well judge what Torment it was to me to remain in such a State of Inaction, and of the ill Consequences which must attend it.

As to my Part of the Affair, I told them, I could not enter on Action till I had received Advice from *England*, which I expected every Moment; and all that I could say to

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them was, that I did but follow my Instructions.

After this Conference, I dispatch'd a Courier to *England*, desiring them to give me particular Orders; I recommended it to them as an Affair of the utmost Consequence, both for the publick Good and my own; adding, that I desired to know her Majesty's Orders how to behave, and that as speedy as possible.

In this Conjunction the Prince and the Deputies, did not cease to demand a positive Answer; they told me our Army was in as good, if not a better Condition than the *French*; they added, that they believed I had express Orders not to proceed, tho' I would not own it; in the Heat of the Dispute one of the Deputies could not forbear censuring the Conduct of the *English*; but I check'd him in his Expressions, and told him, that was not the way to maintain the Harmony between the Queen and the States.

I was still in the greatest Perplexity, when I received a Letter from Mr. Secretary St. John, in which he told me, her Majesty was impatient to know if her Orders arrived in time; the Queen continued he, reposes an entire Assurance in you, that you exactly obey her Pleasure in so Critical a Conjunction.

In an Answer which I sent him the next Day, I informed him that Affairs were now come to an Extremity; and that I could not avoid

avoid giving the Allies new Motives of Discontent, by the Measures which I was oblig'd to take; you cant' imagine, continued I, the Confusion it will make, and I believe, (tho' the Peace you have spoke of be concluded,) it had better have been made by her Majesty's Troops; and what confirms me in this Thought is, that the Elector of *Hanover* does not approve of this Peace, and keeps his Troops with the *Dutch*, and I don't doubt but he will prevail upon the *Danes*. Judge by my Letters, concluded I, the unhappy Situation I am in, and in what Manner I can act; I am weary of this Usage, and I do assure you I wish I could get Permission to return to *England*, if it can be done without Prejudice to her Majesty's Service; notwithstanding I would on this, or any other Occasion, willingly act according to her Majesty's Pleasure: I am under the utmost Impatience to find the unravelling of this Affair.

While I was waiting, Prince *Eugene* threw a Bridge over the *Sale*, pretending that it was to get Forage, but I plainly saw it was with a Design to invest *Quesnoy*; tho' all that I heard was, that they would pass the *Sale*, and take the Camp which I had resolved to occupy, when my Forage was gone where I was: As I was then posted, I found myself between the Besiegers and the *French*: In not consenting to the Siege, I did not transgress her Majesty's Orders, nor could the Mar-
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shal *Villars* lay any Thing at all to my Charge.

In short, the Allies agreed to attack *Quesnoy*: As soon as we had pass'd the *Sale*, we formed our Camp, the Right being the Prince's, was at *Haspres*, and the left at *St. Pitbon*; it was the Left that I commanded, and the Right extended to *Cambray-Castle*: The next Morning they took the Place, and tho' I had no Part in the Siege, I could not avoid furnishing some Troops, out of those which were in joint Pay of the Queen and of the States, but I took Care not to send those who were in her Majesty's Pay only.

I received a Letter soon after from Marshal *Villars*; by which he informed me, that he was told *Quesnoy* was invested, and that a Party of my Troops were employed against it, and that he had received Orders from the King his Master, to know of me if that was true; he added, that a Courier went from *Paris* to *London* but the Morning before, that carried the Answer of the Court of *Spain*, which he believed would be sufficient.

My Answer was, that I would make him Judge of my Conduct; tho' it was true that I could not prevent the Siege of *Quesnoy*, I had only furnished the Troops which were Part paid by the States, but that there was not so much as one Man of her Majesty's amongst them; and when the Trenches were opened, I thought that the Siege would

break the Measures concerted between our Princes; I finish'd my Letter, by expressing to him my Surprize, at being informed, that the Duke of *Wirtemberg* had said by his Trumpet, that the *English* and *French* bore no ill Will to one another, and that his Orders and mine express'd so: I told him to be more circumspect.

The Marshal did not fail to write to me next Morning; he told me, that as to the Trumpet sent by the Duke of *Wirtemberg*, it was a meer Invention, to give Credit to the Gazettes, one of which had affirmed, that I had shewn Prince *Eugene* the Orders which had engaged me not to undertake the last Enterprize; in fine, he told me, that he would let me know, if the Troops which I commanded, should ever chance to act any Thing against him.

I was preparing to answer him, when there arrived an Express, with two Letters from Mr. Secretary *St. John*; he told me in the first, that the Reports which had been spread abroad in *England* and *Holland*, had alarm'd the Whigs, who were spirited up by the *Dutch*, and had been the Cause of a great Deal of Trouble to the Queen; that her Orders were the Result of just Considerations, and that I had shewn a Spirit worthy of me, in following them so exactly; her Majesty, continued he, approved of your Proposition, in keeping your Camp to cover the Siege of *Quesnoy*, and in case the other Allies persist; but

but you may make some Pretext to send a Trumpet to Marshal *Villars*, to inform him of the State of Affairs, and to let him know, that Things can't remain in this Uncertainty for four or five Days, in which Time you'll certainly receive the News of a Peace, and stick to your former Orders, with Prince *Eugene*, but that I should do nothing, if, before that Time, they should even attack Prince *Eugene's* Army.

The second contained a Relation of what had pass'd on that Head, in the two Houses of Parliament: The *Dutch*, says he, do not stick to publish, to animate their Partizans, that you had declared to Prince *Eugene*, and the States Deputies, that it was impossible for you to join with them, to attack the Enemy, tho' you very well knew that you could do it with Advantage; nay, they say, added he, that you have shewn the Orders by which the Queen obliged you to continue in a State of Inaction; and at this News there was a great Murmuring among the People, by the Insinuations the Whigs, together with the *Hollanders*, gave to these Reports.

The Parliament was agitated different Ways; my Lord *Hallifax* set forth the ill Consequences of such a Conduct, and concluded with a Proposal of presenting an Address to her Majesty, to ratify the first Orders, to recal those she had given me not to act, and to give Command that I should act

against the Enemy, in Conjunction with the Allies: Several Lords seconded the Proposition, but it did not go without a Reply. My Lord Treasurer answered in few Words, and said, that this Proposition was contrary to the Prerogative of the Crown: If, said he, he hath refused to act offensively, I don't doubt but he has proceeded conformable to the Orders and Instructions of her Majesty; neither would it be Prudence, continued he, to risk Battle, when you are upon the Point of concluding an honourable Peace; the Duke of *Argyle* approved this Speech of my Lord Treasurer; notwithstanding the Question was put, as my Lord *Hallifax* proposed, Whether they should present an Address to her Majesty, to pray her to send the House a Copy of the Order which was sent to you, and which prevented you from attacking the Enemy, when Occasion offered, jointly with the Allies: But notwithstanding these Disturbances of the Whigs, my Lord Treasurer's Speech, and that of the Duke of *Argyle* were so just, that the Question was rejected unanimously.

After this, the Earl of *Strafford*, who was employed in a Negociation at *Utrecht*, said, that the House had better examine the Negociations at the *Hague*; for which he would communicate the Observations which he had made in *Holland*; and concluded, that they would not fail to present an Address to her Majesty, to pray her to communicate to the

House

House the Papers that were used in those Negotiations, which pass'd without Opposition, and was resolved on accordingly.

But the Whigs who had voted against your lying still, and for the Address which they would have presented to the Queen, seeing their wicked Intentions destroyed, protested against the Resolution they had taken.

The same Questions were debated in the House of Commons, and with the same Success as the Lords: They rejected the first Proposition, as contrary to the Royal Authority, and tending to the Effusion of much Blood, of which they should not be prodigal; and it was resolved to represent to her Majesty, that the House had an entire Confidence in her Promise to communicate to the Parliament the Conditions of Peace, when they should be concluded on, and hoped that her Majesty would obtain a sure and honourable Peace, against all Persons who would any Ways hurt her Realm or Dignity.

This Resolution was accordingly presented to the Queen, who answered it in the most gracious Terms; and much to their Satisfaction, she promised them to communicate to the Parliament the Conditions of Peace.

In the same Cover was a Letter to the Marquis de Torcy, from the said Mr. Secretary St. John, telling him, that notwithstanding the Efforts of the States General,
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their Remonstrances would have no other Effect on her Majesty, than to renew the same Orders; and in Case the Allies persisted in their Design of a Siege, the Queen's Army should not join with them in that Point: But I desired nevertheless that Marshal *Villars* would not undertake any Thing against the Allies, nor oblige me to come to Action, for that her Majesty only waited the Mediation of the most Christian King, and the Answer of King *Philip*, without which she would give Orders to pursue the War with the utmost Vigour.

He ordered me to send this Letter to Marshal *Villars*, in Case the Allies should be resolved to undertake any Thing without my Consent; which I did, because they would not defer the Siege: The Marshal answered me next Morning; tho' he was extremely mortified at their undertaking the Siege; nevertheless, he was resolved not to do any Thing against Prince *Eugene*: The same Day two of the States Deputies arrived from the *Hague*, with some secret Commission to the Army, and after they had had a long Conference with the Prince, and the other Deputies, they came to me; one of them began telling me, that the States had always had the same Veneration for the Queen, of which they had given sufficient Proofs, and should be ready on all Occasions, tho' they were apprehensive that some Body had done them some ill Offices with her Majesty, by
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representing the States as too much attach'd to the Whig Party ; they begg'd me to inform her Majesty to the contrary, and mentioned their Intention of sending an extraordinary Deputation to her Majesty ; they then spoke to me of the Siege of *Quesnoy*, and ask'd me if I would furnish a Number of Troops for that Enterprize.

I told them I would do all they demanded, and that I would furnish them shortly ; they then demanded of me, if I would cover their Troops during the Siege, which I promised to do till I received fresh Orders.

This Answer engaged them mightily ; and I demanded if they would afford me Succours, in Case the *French* should come and attack me, which they promised upon the same Conditions. Thus the Deputies, who but some few Days before took too much Liberty in speaking of the Conduct of *England*, now made all the Excuses imaginable, so effectually were they changed.

As soon as I had received the News of what had pass'd in Parliament, I sent to Monsieur *Bulan*, General of the Troops of *Hanover*, who came to me next Morning ; he told me, that he had in some Measure satisfied the *Dutch*, and that the Elector of *Hanover* his Master would not do any Thing but in Concert with the Queen ; and that, in Fact, the foreign Troops began to change their Language.

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Things were on this Footing, when I had Advice that the *Dutch* had made a Propofal to the Marquis de *Torci*, of a particular Negotiation with *France*, exclusive of *England*, by representing the great Advantage that *France* would reap from fuch a Treaty: But tho' they feemed not to hearken to their Propofitions, all this rendered them more fufpected by our Court.

By a Letter from my Lord Privy Seal, I was inform'd, that after having many Conferences, he found it impoffible to make the Minifters of the States General form a Plan of Peace conjointly with the *Engliſh*; and tho' her Majeſty earneſtly deſired it, they ſtill refuſed taking the ſame Meaſures as her: And I was to declare to them, that their Engagements were not formed on any expreſs Conditions, and that ſhe believed herſelf free to act without them.

Four Days after, an Expreſs brought me a Letter from Mr. Secretary *St. John*; in which he expreſs'd to me the great Satisfaction her Majeſty had in the exact Obedience with which I had executed her Orders. In the Cover of this Letter, he had put the Copies of two others, and a Memorial ſent to *England* by the Marquis *Torci*, which contained Propoſals for a Suspension of Arms, for two Months, between the Armies of the two Kingdoms, in the *Low Countries*, until King *Philip* ſhould ſign his Renunciation to the Crown

Crown of *France*, and to yield to her Majesty the Town of *Dunkirk*.

And further, he told me, that her Majesty would no longer leave Things thus ; that she accepted the Propositions they had sent, which were sent to be signed by the Marquis de *Torcy*; and that I was to be put into Possession of *Dunkirk*; and that I need not be afraid to avow this publickly: But that if these Proposals were rejected, that nothing more should restrain me, and that I might freely take what Measures I judged most proper to annoy the Enemy: He ended by desiring me to write to Marshal *Villars*, for that my Conduct would depend on the Resolutions that *France* should take on the aforesaid Article.

I immediately sent a Trumpet to the Marshal, from whom I received some few Days after a Copy of the Articles, with the Original, which was signed by the Marquis de *Torcy*, according to the Queen's Demand: Upon which I ordered ten Battalions, under the Command of the Earl of *Orkney*, to go and take Possession of *Dunkirk*.

The same Day I wrote to Monsieur *Villars*, to inform him that I could wish the Marquis *Torcy* had also signed the Copy of the Articles, as it would have been more regular, and more agreeable to my Intentions; notwithstanding, I told him I did not see that to retard the Execution of such an important Affair, by forming difficult Scruples:

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I am going, continued I, to pay a Visit to Prince *Eugene*, and the Deputies, where I shall once more take all proper Measures, if I can possibly, to persuade them to quit the Siege of *Quesnoy*; and, in Case of a Refusal, I shall declare to them, that I am obliged to draw off with the Queen's Troops: I concluded in promising to stick to the Resolutions I had taken.

In Effect, I went the same Day to visit the Prince and the Deputies, when I told them I would cover the Siege, if I had received Orders from *England* so to do; but so far from it, that I had had such Orders, as would by no Means permit me to do it: I told them that *France* had agreed with the Queen to the Articles, to desire a Suspension of Arms.

And among other Things to yield *Dunkirk* to us; for which Reason I could not promise to cover the Siege of *Quesnoy*; and I was obliged to march with the Queen's Troops, and those that were in her Pay, to publish a Suspension of Arms, upon the yielding up of *Dunkirk*: I hope, said I, that you will lend a helping Hand, the more willingly, because it is as much for your Interest as the Queen's, to enter into the Negotiations of Peace.

The Deputies demanded five Days Time, to consult their Masters upon so important an Affair: To which I told them I would agree, if they would quit the Siege, which I very much press'd; but as they would not,
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I gave them only three Days, tho' that Delay was contrary to my Orders, and which I could not answer to *France*, tho' they should deliver *Dunkirk* in the mean Time: They told me, that they would not permit any of our Troops to pass thro' their Towns, to go and take Possession of that Place, and complained very much that my Departure with the Queen's Troops, and those that were in her Pay, would leave them very much exposed to the Mercy of *France*; adding, that they were well assured that the foreign Troops could not follow me.

They accordingly took all the Methods they could, to persuade them not: I went to the General of the foreign Troops, who refused taking Part with her Majesty, as well as Monsieur *Bulau*, and I found whenever I renewed that Discourse, they seemed quite unwilling to engage in it; they excused themselves one and all, and made an Objection, that they thought they could not answer drawing off from the Allies, without the express Orders of their Masters, and for that very Reason they would send Couriers. I still alledg'd all the Reasons I could, and insisted on our Side, that by the Orders I had received from the Queen, and the Engagements they were in to her, that they ought to obey her; nay, that their General owed her an absolute Submission: And then I represented to them the ill Consequences that would arise from such a Refusal; but nothing

could change their Resolution; and I perceiving that they were determined to follow no Orders but those of the Prince and the Deputies, I countermanded the Detachment I had ordered to *Dunkirk*, and sent the Result of this Conference the same Day to Marshal *Villars*, desiring him to let me know particularly in what Manner *Dunkirk* was to be put into the Hands of our Troops, in Case they should draw off without the Auxiliaries, whom I foresaw would make some Difficulties in following me.

I judged this Precaution to be the more necessary, as I was not thoroughly assured whether he would give it up or no; and as the Suspension of Arms was not general thro' all the Army, but only those Troops of her Majesty in particular: After I had taken all these proper Precautions, I waited his Answer to determine my Resolves; when I received a Letter from Mr. Secretary *St. John*, who bid me take the very same Measures; adding, that if *France* would not agree to her Majesty's Proposals in every Thing, I was at Liberty to act against her as an Enemy.

In the mean Time I was very much embarrassed, supposing that Marshal *Villars* should give me a satisfactory Answer; and the foreign Troops had refused to obey my Orders; I thought I could take my March towards *Dunkirk*, with all the *English* Troops and the Artillery, and the Body of those Troops were so small, that they might go
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any Way; I resolv'd to follow my Plan, tho' the *Hollanders* had refus'd to let me march any Detachment thro' their Towns, which was the neareſt Way to *Dunkirk*, and without which I could not answer the Execution of her Majesty's Orders.

Tho' I met with ſo much Trouble in the Army, yet I could not eſcape Censure in *England*; the Whigs cried out againſt the Court, and over and over again blamed the Communication of the Peace which the Queen had made to her Parliament, tho' it was a Peace ſo advantageous and glorious to the Nation, and attributed all the wrong Steps that happen'd to my Attachment to the Court; my Brother wrote me Word of all that paſſ'd on this Subject, and among the reſt, of a perſonal Quarrel that happen'd between the Duke of *Marlborough* and the Lord *Powlet*, Lord Chamberlain to the Queen.

The Duke of *Marlborough* let ſlip ſome Words, that this ſhew'd the Difference between his commanding and mine. I ſhall not enter into Particulars on that Subject myſelf; let my Actions be put to the Teſt, and ſpeak for me.

But to come to the Quarrel; theſe Words of the Duke of *Marlborough* did not reſt without a Reply; the Earl of *Powlet* on the other Hand, told him I was as fit as he for a General. either in a Field of Battle, or before the Walls of a Town; and told the Duke he ad-

advanced nothing but what he was able to prove; this was more than the Duke could bear; he sent my Lord *Mobun* to him the same Day to tell him he waited for him to prove what he advanced, but it came some how to the Queen's Ears, who set a Guard upon the Duke of *Marlborough* to prevent his coming out, and another upon my Lord *Powlet*.

My Brother informed me also of divers other Particulars which happened in Parliament, which would be too long to mention here; I shall only say, that the Efforts of the Whigs and the *Hollanders* were all vain, and the Queen still continued anxious to give Peace to *Europe* notwithstanding their ill Intentions.

At length the Answer which I expected from Marshal *Villars* arrived; a Trumpet from him came to acquaint me, that he had sent a Courier to his Court on the Subject of my last Letter; and that he waited the Return thereof; he told me, that his Court had sent Orders to the Lieutenant General, who commanded in *Dunkirk*, to deliver up that Place; and he did not doubt but their Instructions were given in such a Manner, that I should soon know that they had wholly agreed to a Suspension of Arms, which he told me should commence immediately; he concluded his Letter to me by observing, that without doubt his Master would be much surprized, to find that the Auxiliary Troops made any Difficulty at drawing off from Prince *Eugene*,

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gene, adding, that he was surprized, that those Troops should rather hazard their Lives with the *Dutch*, than to be free from all Danger in following the Commands of the Queen.

Two Days after Marshal *Villars* sent me Monsieur *de Torcy*'s Answer to Mr. Secretary St. *John*, the Contents of which were, that the King would not consent to give up *Dunkirk*, unless the whole Number of Troops in the Queen's Pay, complied with the Orders touching the Cessation of Arms; and made this Reflection, that Prince *Eugene* would be left sole General at the Head of a numerous Army, and would not make any Scruple to come to Action, and sacrifice the Troops which his Master did not pay, and which were nevertheless to obey his Orders during the rest of the Campaign; he added, that his Master was persuaded that the Queen had not sent sufficient Orders for drawing off the Troops in her Pay from the Allies, and when that was done the King would yield up *Dunkirk* to her Majesty, in the Manner that had been before agreed upon.

The Sight of this Letter made me hope that the Queen approved of the Delays I had made in drawing off from the grand Army, to march to *Dunkirk*, since I had good Reason to believe, that Place would not be delivered up; nay it was such an Inconveniency to them, as made me think it impossible they should do it; and I was in such a Condition
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that to act against *France* was of the same Consequence as to act contrary to her Majesty's Orders; 'tis true that I had several times determined within myself to follow the Siege of *Quesnoy* in Opposition to the Enemy.

At this Conjunction the Marshal *Villars* invited me to an Interview, which I imagined I could not agree to, without exceeding my Instructions, which I did not care to do; therefore I excused myself by writing him a Letter upon that Subject.

During the time I was thus employed, I dispatched an Express to *England* upon all that had passed; and I received a Letter from Mr. Secretary *St. John*, who told me, that the Courier was returned from *France* with the King's Consent, which was very satisfactory to the Queen; and that if I found any Difficulty in going to take Possession of *Dunkirk*, that he would take proper Measures to send by Sea, a sufficient Number of Troops to execute that Design; it is a mortifying Stroke, *continued he*, to the *Dutch*, to see that Place in our Hands; for which reason he would have me examine their Dispositions; and, wherever I saw the least Appearance of Trouble in that Enterprize, that I should not fail to discover it, and give an Account thereof to the Queen, who would immediately give Orders to the Troops in *England* to go and take Possession of *Dunkirk*, in such a manner as should not give room for any Obstacles;
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in short, *concluded* he, in so nice a Situation it is proper to be quite quiet, to take it first, and afterwards discover it.

In the beginning of *July* the Secretary wrote me word that my Lord *Strafford* would shortly arrive at the Army, pursuant to the Orders which the Queen had given him, and that he had all necessary Instructions in such a Conjunction; that the Queen had declared to the Foreign Ministers, that she would not pay any of the Princes whose Troops had refused to obey her, and that their Refusal had entirely set aside all Engagements; he bade me make the same Declaration to the States General, and to be upon my Guard till the Arrival of my Lord *Strafford*; in brief he told me, that in Case I received the News that the Court of *France* had entirely accepted the Queen's Propositions, that he would send me a Copy, and I should make publick the Suspension of Arms, and in the mean time assemble such Troops as would obey my Orders, in order to make as good a Retreat as possible in Circumstances so hazardous.

As soon as I had received these Letters, I sent an Express to *England* to let the Secretary know, that the Orders which her Majesty had sent by my Lord *Strafford*, by the Experience I had already, I could not hope to execute with any Success; nevertheless I did not omit any Thing in order to change the Resolution of the Generals of the Foreign

Troops in her Majesty's Pay, tho' they had yet received no Orders from their Masters.

It is proper to consult, *continued I*, of the Route which is proper to take with the Troops that go with me, for I am very well assured, that the States will not permit them to go through any part of their Territories, or suppose they should, they would not do it without our paying for all the Damage we should do; it is not proper, *continued I*, to stay in the Camp, after having declared a Suspension of Arms, for I don't know what may follow afterwards; and the Marshal *Villars* has told me, that he should refuse to deliver up *Dunkirk*, by reason the Suspension of Arms should be general between the whole Army that I commanded, and that of *France*.

Pursuant to my Instructions, I did not fail to let the foreign Generals know how much the Queen was offended at their Refusal, I went immediately to Mons. *Wicks*, who commanded the *Saxon* Troops: He told me, that he could not do any thing, for that he had received no positive Orders from his Master, and upon that Affair he would willingly have his Conduct irreproachable, and all the others answered me in much the same Stile.

During this Interval I received a Letter from Marshal *Villars*, with Orders for the surrendring of *Dunkirk*; he told me, among other things, that though the *French* regarded

garded the Loss of that Place very much, it was some Comfort nevertheless that it would be a means of uniting the two Kingdoms; that he found by a Letter from the Secretary to Marquess Torcy, that the Queen would finish the Grand Work of Peace, notwithstanding the ill Intentions of any Party, and that the King, his Master, was come to the same Resolutions, and that he would perfectly answer the Queen's Intentions: He concluded by telling me, that it would be better the Troops should come from *England* to take Possession of *Dunkirk*; because he thought it would be for the Interest of the two Nations, that I should not by any Means lessen the Troops under my Command.

The Conduct of the Marshal appeared to me very singular upon this Occasion, and though I had resolved to send a Detachment to take Possession of *Dunkirk*, I thought it right first to send Orders for the Evacuation of the Place: He told me, that he had sent a Commandment to the Town, and, as it appeared at present, that the Troops for that Service should come from *England*, he sent me Word to the Camp not to be uneasy at any thing.

Nevertheless, according to the Advice that I had received, I published a Suspension of Arms between *Great Britain* and *France*, and the Orders I had received for *Dunkirk*. In the mean time I waited for my Lord *Strafford's* coming with new Instructions to

regulate my Conduct, so that every thing must remain in this Situation until he arrived; I gave an Answer to Marshal *Villars*, that without doubt he should send the same Orders to *England* for the Delivery of *Dunkirk*, as the Troops were to come from thence.

At the same the Prince of *Anhalt*, General of the *Prussians*, came to me to tell me, that he had received the Answer of the King his Master, to the Proposition I had made of complying with the Queen's Request touching the Suspension of Arms; he told me, that the King his Master was very much surprized to find that the Queen would draw off her Troops from the Allies. And as to the Harangue the Queen had made, he did not much regard that in particular; in fine, he alledged that as he was a Member of the Empire, the separating from the Imperial Troops, would be of fatal Consequence to the Electors of *Bavaria* and *Cologne*, and that the Queen herself would find the ill Effects of not letting her Troops stay with the Emperor's.

General *Bulau* answered me much to the same Purpose; and told me, that his Instructions no ways authorized him to separate from the Allies; but that he could not say much upon that Head, because the Orders he had received from his Master the Elector of *Hanover* were not particular.

The Duke of *Wirtemberg*, General of the *Danish* Troops, gave me much the same Answer;

swer; I saw plainly that they had no Intention to follow me, but to stay with the other Army, and that as to the Peace, it was the same thing to them whether there was one or no.

I waited the Arrival of my Lord *Strafford* with the utmost Impatience, to aid me in some Measure in the cruel Embarrassment I found myself in, when there arrived a new Express from Mr. *St. John*, with a Letter in the Cover of it for the Marquis *Torcy*, containing the King's Consent to the Cession of *Dunkirk*: The Secretary told me in his, that he had dispatched two Officers to *Dunkirk*, to dispose the Evacuation of that Place, and the Reception of our Troops; and informed me of the Execution of the Queen's Orders, and that Sir *John Leak* was ready in the *Downs*, where he had got a considerable Squadron, which would be ready to sail in a few Days: He told me further, that the Earl of *Strafford* was gone thro' *Holland*, for several particular Reasons, and not thro' *Ostend*.

That was the Reason he had not arrived at the Army so soon as I desired; and that he did not doubt but I was in the utmost Impatience to receive proper Instructions how to behave in such critical Circumstances: He told me moreover, that if I would appoint two Colonels (whom he named) to go and take *Dunkirk*, that the Governor of the Place had received Orders to quit it, and to
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yield it to the Queen's Troops; and that I should without Delay publish a Suspension of Arms; (if I had not already done it) that I should retreat, pursuant to the Orders I had before received, and declare her Majesty's Reasons for so doing, and that I should not consent to take any other Measures. When my Lord *Strafford*, continued he, carried the News to *Holland*, of an Agreement to a Suspension of Arms, according to the Orders he had received, all the Allies disliked it, but when they absolutely refused to come into it, I bid him follow the same Orders he had at first received in Person, that her Majesty would have entered into a conditional Suspension, if the *Dutch* had proposed it.

He concluded with informing me, that Mr. *Hill* was chose to command the Troops designed for *Dunkirk*, and that Mr. *Sweet* was ordered not to pay any foreign Troops, but those which I should order, and which deserved to be so distinguished by her Majesty.

As soon as I had received this Letter, I dispatched Colonel *Lloyd* to *Dunkirk*, with the Orders sent by the Court of *France*, for the Evacuation of that Place; and by him I sent a Letter to Marshal *Villars*, in which I told him that they had sent two Colonels from *England* to *Dunkirk*; and to let him know that those were the Orders sent from *England*, and I hoped that he would let my
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Aid-de-Camp have those which were sent for me.

The Colonel had not been long departed before I received an Express from Marshal *Villars*, which brought me a Packet from the two Colonels which were come to *Dunkirk*: He told me he thought it would be proper, and exactly to the Queen's Desires, to fix a Day for the Publication of the Suspension of Arms, and for the surrendring of the Place: He added, that Prince *Eugene* and General *Doph* had been the Day before to reconnoitre *Landrecy*; and that I could not but think that the King's Troops would bring all their Forces to oppose that Enterprize; that he hoped I would refrain from Action with the Troops I had; and he believed that the Enemies to the Peace would soon be quiet.

The Letters of the two Colonels contained an Account of what they had done at *Dunkirk*, which was, that the Governor told them, that the King's Orders were to deliver the Place, after they had sent to Marshal *Villars*, and till they had received that, they could determine nothing. All these Delays disturbed me very much; in the mean Time, I received another Letter from Marshal *Villars*; in which he informed me, that he had sent the Orders for the Evacuation of *Dunkirk*, by Colonel *Lloyd*; that I should send to that Place my Answer; and that he might see Mr. *St. John's* Letters; and that

that he depended upon me to conclude and publish the Suspension of Arms.

I waited every Day the Determination of the Foreign Generals; the greatest Part of them persisted in their first Resolution not to march on any Account; the *Saxon* General could not determine because he waited his Master's Orders; but the General who commanded the Troops of *Holstein*, and those who commanded the Dragoons of *Leige* promised to follow my Orders.

At length my Lord *Strafford* arrived, whose coming I had long waited with Impatience; his Arrival gave me some Pleasure, as he brought me the Instructions I had so long wanted, and which would in some Measure be a Clue to bring me out of the Labyrinth in which I then was.

The Day after my Lord's Arrival, I writ to the Marshal *Villars*, that he might assuredly depend on the Suspension of Arms, for that Mr. St. *John* had wrote me word, that the Governour of *Dunkirk* should deliver up the Place according to the Queen's Desire, and that the same Day would serve for the Publication, and the yielding of *Dunkirk*; these were exactly the Orders I had waited for with such Impatience, and which my Lord *Strafford* brought me.

The Marshal *Villars* testified his Joy at this News by an Answer the most spirituous that could be; he told me, that as he had agreed with the bravest of his Enemies, he
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had great Hopes of vanquishing the others ; and that he believed those Hopes were not vain: He let me know, that as soon as I had drawn off my Troops, he pretty well judged the Force of the Enemy, and that he was resolved to attack them: That those were the exprefs Orders of the King, and which answered his Desires more than any Thing he could have done. About this Time Prince *Eugene* sent me Word by an Aid-de-Camp, that he designed to march next Morning: I answered him, that I was surprized at this Message, and that as yet we had not concerted proper Measures, and that if he had fixt his Design of marching the next Day, I could not accompany him: Tell his Highness, added I, that he should have asked the Succours of the Queen's Troops, and that they should have been concerted in a Design of that Sort ; but that as it was, I should take such Measures, as that no Mischance that should happen, could be attributed to me. In short, I let him know, that if he marched, I should be obliged to decamp forthwith, and to take away the Queen's Troops.

In the mean Time, I sent an Answer to Marshal *Villars*, that it was impossible to declare at present my Opinion of what he demanded, but that I would send a satisfactory Answer next Day: I added, that when I received any News from *Dunkirk*, I would publish a Suspension of Arms; and that I had

declared to the whole Army, as well as the Prince and the Deputies, that if they undertook any Enterprize, the Queen's Troops could not give them any Succours.

The same Day Colonel *Lloyd*, whom I had sent, arrived from *Dunkirk*, with the News, that they had wholly agreed to the Cession of that Place, and that the Governor had ordered it to be delivered up to the *English* Troops; he likewise brought me a Letter from Marshal *Villars*, the Contents of which were, that according to the Advice he had received, the Place would be surrendered that Day; and that if I judged it proper, I should that very Day make a Publication of the Cessation of Arms.

I know, continued he, by certain Advice, that Prince Eugene will shortly march to Landrecies; your Army is now upon the Rout towards that Place, but I very well conjecture, added he, that the Dutch Army can't be very strong, deprived of the Queen's Alliance; and the Imperialists are very ungrateful not to acknowledge the Succours they have received from the English:

He concluded, by testifying to me again a Desire to know what Troops would draw off with me.

In the mean Prince *Eugene* pursued his Resolution, and began his March: All the foreign Troops in the Queen's Pay, except those of *Holstein*, and the Dragoons of *Liege*, joined him: Those Generals paid the Compliments

pliments of Leave to me, and profess'd much Civility; they express'd great Regret in quitting me, but hoped that some more happy Conjunction would rejoin us; the Prince and the Deputies did not come near me for five Days.

This Junction reinforced the *Prince's* Army; I gave the Marshal Advice what Troops had joined the Army, and told him I did not doubt but I had given sufficient Assurances of the Sincerity of the *English*; that I had proposed to take some Battalions and Squadrons that were wholly in her Majesty's Pay, but they had refused me; upon which I had stopp'd their Pay, and so made the whole Expence of the War theirs, and that they could not hold it long: And further, I assured him, that I would not fail to publish a Suspension of Arms.

Marshal *Villars* sent me Word, that if I would please to mark what Rout I would take, and for that Reason he would stay another Day in his Camp: He told me he regarded me as a Friend, and that if I pleas'd I might march thro' the King's Dominions, because the *Dutch* were Masters of great Part of *Flanders*.

If the Generals who went before me, had had the Interest of their Queen and their Country more at Heart, they had not left the *Dutch* Masters of so many Places. But the whole World is led by their particular Interests, which are the only Objects that

guide them, and of this their Opposition to the Peace was a convincing Proof: They resembled much the Conquest of *Troy*, which was as unfortunate as it was glorious.

The Duke of *Marlborough* had been a long Time deprived of his Honours; the House of *Soissons*, and the Hopes of Prince *Eugene*, looked sadly to his View: one of them was obliged to seek an Asylum in *Turkey*, which the Christians had refused him here.

The Queen no longer opposed the Suspension of Arms; I published it at the Day appointed, and apprized the Marshal thereof, that the same might be done in their Camp: In the mean Time, I made the Army halt; after we had decamped, I let the Marshal know, that my Design was to march thro' some Places between *Lisle* and *Ypres*, and according to his Desire, I should be glad to have a Conference with him, but begg'd him to wait some few Days more, during which I would again signify to the foreign Generals, that I had published the Cessation of Arms, and would again invite them to join me.

In the mean Time, I was very much embarrass'd what Way to take; I had two to chuse, to retire towards *Dunkirk*, or if I thought best, to take the first Road I had resolved on. If I took the latter, I did not know what to do with the Artillery which was in my little Army, and five hundred Men which were in the Garrison of *Ghent*: I dispatched an Express to the Secretary, to the

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End that I might know her Majesty's Intentions how to behave on that Head.

But, in the mean Time, the Conduct of the Prince and the Deputies determined my Resolves: My Lord *Strafford*, and some Officers, had the Curiosity to go over to *Bouchain*, where they were refused Entrance, and were told that the Commandant had given Orders to them not to admit any *Englishmen*; they sent to the Commandant, who confirmed this, and they were obliged to return; the same Thing happened at *Douay*, where what chagrined me more was, we could not see the Magazines and Hospital: Nay further, Colonel *O'Hara* died in the last Town, and they refused him Burial: All this made me determine (as I was free to act as I would, according to the Queen's Order) to march towards *Ghent*, and make them repent of the Violences which they had done our Troops.

My Resolution very much alarmed the Prince and the Deputies, who thought proper to send the Count *Nassau* to me, with a Memorial unsigned, to tell me, that they were surprized at what was done at *Bouchain* and *Douay*, and that they were very sorry for the Behaviour of the Commandants, and that they had not given them such Orders, and that the Deputies entirely disapproved their Conduct, and would give them a Reprimand, according to their Deserts: They added, that they would remove all Obstacles
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that hindered the March of the *English* Troops, and that they would likewise provide for their Subsistence, and that I was at Liberty to go thro' all their Towns, and make use of their Magazines, and assuring me, that they were very sorry their Subjects had done what they had.

But notwithstanding all these Excuses, they could not possibly persuade me, that the Commandants could have done as they did, without their express Orders; and what convinced me was, that the Deputies had declared to myself, that they hoped I would not pass thro' any of their Towns, and even, after these Excuses, the same Difficulties arose at *Tournay*, *Oudenarde*, and *Lisse*.

But not content with this, they did what made me believe it still more: I had dispatch'd Capt. *Hart* to *England*, and when he came to *Haspres*, the *Imperialists* would not let him pass thro' that Place; they told him it was Night, and he could not be examined: So that he was obliged to go back and stay till next Morning; when he arrived at *Courtray*, he took a Guide to conduct him to *Bruges*, but was surprized, when he thought himself at the Gates of the Town, to find that he was eight Leagues off, and the Guide confessed that he did so by his Master's Orders: and when he got to *Bruges*, he was forced to stay some Time for the opening of the Horse Gates: So judge if these Things were not sufficient to retard him.

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As for me, I feigned myself ignorant of all that had pass'd, and formed a Design to go over the *Lys*, and post myself near the Canal of *Bruges*, which I demanded to assist the Queen's Troops; but they would not do it, and I know that some of the Magistrates address'd the Counsel of State, not to give Cover to the *English*, but treat them as Enemies; at *Ghent* they did the same Thing; and the Council of State sent an Address to Prince *Eugene*, to desire a sufficient Garrison for that Place; and I was informed in the mean Time, that they had sent from *Bouchain* to *Ghent* a Battalion of *Swiss*, and that the *Hollanders* were very much enraged against the two foreign Generals that had followed me, and had taken away the Places of Major-General; and I was informed also, that the Queen's Troops had taken Possession of the Forts and Town of *Dunkirk*.

Two Days after I went for *Ghent*, where I was received by the Magistrates with all the Politeness imaginable, and I encamped my Army half a League off that Town, between the Canal of *Bruges*, and the left Hand of the *Lys*: By this Means I was assured of this Town; I sent to carry some Troops to *Bruges*, in Case of an Attack, to *Dunkirk*, to reinforce, if it were necessary: The principal Magistrates of *Bruges* let me know, that they should not make any Difficulty to give free Passage to our Troops, and
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that I should be Master of their Garrison, if I judged proper.

Some Time afterwards, my Lord *Bolingbroke* Secretary of State, sent me Word, that any Service I could do, could not be more agreeable to her Majesty, than what I had already done for her, and for my Country; that she even thanked me, and should not forget the exact Obedience I had paid to her Orders, and the Prudence and Moderation of my Conduct in so critical a Juncture.

The Queen was thoroughly pleased at procuring Peace to *Europe*, tho' this was the first Attempt that she had made, and she had met with Abundance of Difficulty, which were owing to the Refusal of the Emperor and the States to consent to it, tho' they were often solicited to take reasonable Measures. My Lord *Bolingbroke* farther told me, in his Letter, that the Queen ordered him to write expressly, to let me know, that I should not mind any Reports that were spread on my Account, for that I might be very well persuaded that these Fables made no Impression on her Spirit, and therefore ought not on mine.

About this Time, I received the News of the Defeat of the Troops of my Lord *Albemarle* at *Denain*, by Marshal *Villars*; every Body knows that Affair: This Event, and the Liberty I had given me by the Queen's last Orders, to act as freely as I would, made me reflect what was proper to do.

If I should evacuate *Ghent*, the *Hollanders* would certainly take Possession of that Place, and therefore I could not desist; and after having sent some Battalions to *Dunkirk*, I sent four to *Bruges*, and the rest to *Ghent*; I divided the Artillery into two Places, and posted the Cavalry at the Canal of *Bruges*.

The Marshal *Villars* did not fail letting me know of his Victory; he told me, that his Master's Enemies were sensible, that they could do nothing without the *English*, and that our Separation was fatal to them, and that Fortune seemed to have abandoned them with us, and I should plainly find it so by the Relation which he had sent me; and that it would not be long before all of them would acknowledge his Power. My Lord *Albemarle* was taken Prisoner.

The latter wrote to me, to use my Credit that he might not be taken Prisoner to *France*, but exchanged for some of the *French* Officers; or that he might be permitted to go with his Family to *Aix la Chappelle*; and to that Purpose he press'd me very much.

In the Answer which I sent to Monsieur *Villars*, I recommended that Affair to him; and afterwards I wrote another Letter, and every obtained of him what was required by my Lord.

During this, Count *Dursel* came to me from *Ghent*, to compliment me in Behalf of the Council of State, and to beseech me to

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spare that Place: Tho' I thought that their Demand would be conformable to the Queen's Intentions, my Inclination was not to oppress the People; and in a few Days I made their Officers so tractable, that it was scarce credible.

I received next Day a Messenger from my Lord *Bolingbroke*: The Secretary observed to me, that tho' the Queen had already let me know by her last Letter, that she was very well satisfied with my Conduct, yet she approved the Measures I had since taken; and that he had fresh Orders to tell me, in her Majesty's Behalf, that he repeated how sensible she was of the Services I had done her, on that Occasion: She is so well satisfied, added he, of your Prudence and Management, in Regard to that Affair, that she has given me express Orders to tell you, that she will not give you any more positive Instructions, but that you are free to act arbitrarily.

The Satisfaction I tasted in these Applauses of the Queen, on my Behaviour, was a little disturbed by a Letter from Marshal *Villars*; he wrote me Word, that he had discovered by the principal Officers, who had been at *Denain*, that it was talked in *Holland*, in a Manner that it was no longer doubted, but that a Revolution would be brought about in *England*, and that the Hatred of the Confederates, against the Court

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and the Tories, was trifling to what he had
against the Court of *France*,

Altho' I did not think that this Advice de-
served any Attention, yet, at Length, it was
back'd by so many Reports, that we were
interell'd to repel it; in the mean Time, I
sent an Express to the Secretary, with the
Copy of the Notice, I had so much her Ma-
jesty's Welfare at Heart.

The Manner in which I behaved at *Ghent* and *Bruges*, was very much approved by her Majesty; she thought my Service to be of that Importance, that I can't help repeating the Letter which my Lord Treasurer wrote me on that Subject, and which is as follows.

My Lord,

A NT Pen, nor any Language, can't express the great Pleasure which I take in your Grace's Success, and it is a vast Satisfaction to me, to see that it is so to the Publick; the Example, in War, of a Man of Quality, and of a Courage so intrepid as your Grace's, has rendered you the Object of every one's Envy, and you draw the Applauses of all Persons of Experience and good Sense; your Grace's March to Ghent was a Master-stroke, it was even acknowledged so in France and Holland, and I declare to you that I found a double Pleasure, especially as it was done by the Duke of Ormond, for whom I have so strict a Friendship, and in whose Success I am so particularly interested.

terested: Monsieur de Torcy has made us a just Compliment on the Affair of Denain, telling us, that the Allies could not judge at present the Loss they had sustained, by her Majesty's drawing off her Troops, and he thought that they could not but say that our Nation had likewise carried with them Victory itself. I am with the utmost Respect and Attachment,

OXFORD.

Some Days after, Monsieur de Vegelin came to see me; our Conference turned upon the agreeable Circumstances of *Ghent* and *Bruges*; I soon found that he was sent by the States Deputies, to sound me whether or no the *English* Troops would stay in those Places, during the Winter; he asked me several Times where I should be: To which I answered, that I saw no Likelihood of being able to go further.

He demanded, in the next Place, if I would consent that the States should send some of their Troops to *Ghent*, to protect their Convoys, and serve to escort them to the Frontier Garrisons: I made answer, that I thought I was obliged not to suffer any Troops, but those of the Queen, in that Town, assuring him, nevertheless, that tho' I kept Possession of the Place, I did not pretend any Ways to trouble their Convoys: neither should I hinder them from sending their Troops to escort them to the Counterscarp
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of the Town, to receive whatever should be sent to their Camp; but I thought it would be more to their Disadvantage than Good; for that after the Battle of *Denain*, the *French* would certainly be enraged, and as they were Masters of *Escant* and *Lys*, they would certainly bring their whole Army, but they would stop the *Dutch* Convoys.

The Deputy further asked me, if I would let a Party of *Danish* Troops come into *Bruges*, to take up Winter Quarters, as they had done since the Surrender of the Place; which I told him I could not permit, according to her Majesty's former Orders: This did not at all please him; he demanded of me, in a Sort of a Heat, if I did not think to make Provisions there to winter the *English* Troops: Don't let that give you any Pain, replied I, the Place will not permit it; but I told him that I should not want it, for that I had regulated the Forage so in the preceeding War, and besides had sent several Regiments to *Dunkirk*, and others to guard the Artillery, that I did not fear it.

This was the Subject of our Conference, of which I thought it right to send a Relation to Secretary *St. John*, adding, that if the Queen would give me fresh Orders, I would execute them with the same Exactness as I did the present Commands of her Majesty.

My Lord *Bolingbroke* let me know, that the Queen desired I would permit some of their Troops to enter these Places, and that
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her Intention was to keep the same from Surprize, waiting by that Means to obtain advantageous Conditions for the Low Countries, in the Treaty of Peace.

Her Majesty, continued he, doubts that your Grace has not found your Post very agreeable; tho' that Affair demands a Person of your Rank, she thinks your Service necessary, and that the Disposition of Affairs requires your Presence in the Low Countries.

That Post indeed was not very agreeable to me, it was only to serve her Majesty and the Nation that made me support it; I remained there till the Month of November, and continued to fix all Things according to the Queen's Desire.

During the Time I staid at *Ghent*, I made more Regulations for the Good of the Army: I fixt the Price of Bread; the Presents the Commissaries had, was what pierced my Heart for the poor Soldiers; I made them return the Surplus.

The Campaign was finished, and I finding that every Thing was settled in such a Manner, that my Presence was no longer necessary there for the Queen's Service, I begg'd that she would permit me to return to *England*; and in a few Days after my Lord *Bolingbroke* let me know, that the Queen gave me Leave, as soon as I thought that every Thing was quiet at *Ghent* and *Bruges*: He added, that I could not take too much Precaution in so dangerous a Time, and bid me recommend
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it to the Officers who had the Command of those Places, to be vigilant, and continually upon their Guard; some Days after, I set out for *England*, where I happily arrived the Beginning of *November*.

You see what was my Conduct during this Campaign, and for which, some Time after, I was accused of the Crime of High Treason, tho', at the same Time, the publick Good alone, and Obedience to her Majesty, guided all my Actions; nevertheless, I was well assured, that all true *Englishmen*, in Spite of the Calumnies raised by the Factious, who condemned me, acknowledged in their Hearts, that on this Occasion, the *Love of my Country* guided me, without any View to my own particular Interests.

As soon as I arrived, I paid my Respects to her Majesty, who received me with extraordinary Marks of Goodness; and tho' she had given the Lord Lieutenancy of *Ireland* to another, yet I thought myself recompensed in having served my Country, and being beloved by all true Subjects: Notwithstanding, some Time after, the Queen conferr'd on me the Charge of Governor of the Cinque Ports, and Captain-General of her Forces.

The Duke *d'Aumont* came from *France* to *England*, in the Quality of an Ambassador; that Lord was endued with all the Qualities that form a great Man; so that I chose soon to contract a Friendship with him; the Queen
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esteemed him mightily, and during all the Time he staid in *England*, we lived in the greatest Affinity; he was magnificent, generous, and all the most inestimable Qualities that shine in a Man of Birth, and rendered him the Love and Admiration of the *English*.

In the mean Time, a Treaty of Peace and Commerce was concluded between *England*, *France* and *Spain*, to the great Grief of those who opposed it, and the publick Satisfaction; the Kingdom was very much hurt, not only by the long War, for that it had been the Dupe of its Neighbours, by the Conduct of those who had been at the Head of her Armies, but it had been very much weakened by the Interruption of its Commerce, in which its whole Riches consist.

Things were in the utmost Tranquillity, when the News of the Queen's Death, spread by a false Report of an Illness she had, renewed the Hopes of the Whigs to obtain their former Station; they flattered themselves, that the Arrival of the Electoral Prince of *Hanover*, who was coming to *England*, would be very favourable to them: There were diverse Writings on one Side and the other, some thinking that the Pretender was a Favourite even of the Queen herself; the others said, that the hereditary Right was violated, in the Way that the Parliament proceeded, and that they reversed the fundamental Laws of the Kingdom: Upon which divers Addresses were presented, to
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the Queen, to pray her to hinder the Duke of *Lorain* from giving an Asylum to the Pretender, in his Dominions; and either thro' their Zeal or their Fury, they desired her to set a Price on his Head, and to promise a Recompence to any one who should strike so important a Blow, to assuring the Succession of the House of *Hanover*.

The Answer the Queen gave them on this Head, did not at all content them; she told them she had no Way to quiet their Uneasiness, and destroy their ill-grounded Jealousies, which they had cultivated with so much Industry; I can't see, continued she, any Necessity to publish such a Proclamation, and when I think proper, I shall give Orders for that Purpose: It was in the House of Lords that this Address was presented; but the House of Commons knowing the Queen's Intentions, joined in an Address of Thanks to her Majesty, upon the Peace, and that the Protestant Succession in the House of *Hanover*, was in no Danger, under the Administration of her Majesty.

If the Malady which had attacked the Queen before, did not then cause her Death, yet it did not fail to attack her anew, and with more Violence; her Majesty, according to the Physicians, and every other Circumstance, could not live long, and therefore disposed all Things proper for the Government; she expired some little Time
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after, and the new King arrived, and was proclaimed: 'Tis certain, that had not her Death been so hasty, it is a Question whether Things had been as they were, because it was thought, that for some Time before, her Majesty's Intentions had been otherwise.

Her Death entirely changed the Face of the Government; the Elector of *Hanover* was proclaimed King of *Great Britain*, he arrived at *London*, where he was received with many Acclamations of Joy by some, and coolly by others; he was no sooner crowned, than the Whigs remounted to all their Hopes had conceived; the Ministers of the deceased Queen were disgraced, and I was among the Number of those unfortunate, for having served my Country too well.

In order to thank me for these Services, they took from me my Charge of Captain General, which the Queen had honoured me with; it was conferred on the Duke of *Marlborough*, who was come to *London*; and I had the Mortification to see my Enemy, by his strange good Fortune, shine again in his first Splendor; he was the chief of my Enemies: Nevertheless, the King conferred on me the Lieutenantancy of *Somerset*, and created me chief of the Council of *Ireland*. My Enemies were not content with the Blow they had given me, they sought to destroy me entirely, and by the Blindness which
had

had seized their Spirits, they cried out against my Conduct in the *Low Countries*, and had me accused of the Crime of High Treason; one *W-----* and *C-----*, who coloured it to the Publick, tho' it was only to advance their own particular Interests, with much Difficulty made their Adherents believe, that my Conduct was criminal; that I only followed the Queen's first Orders, without any Regard to those which were wrote me by the Secretaries of State. Was ever any Thing more absurd? Nevertheless, upon this Accusation I was accused of High Treason, together with my Lord *Oxford*, and my Lord *Bolingbroke*.

Finding that I should have no Pleasure of staying in *England*, I took my Leave, and went to *France* with my Lord *Bolingbroke*; the King received us courteously, and if his Death had not prevented us from finding the Effects of his good Will, without Doubt, we should have found ample Amends.

As soon as we arrived in *France*, we had no Reason to repent our leaving the *English* Court; Monsieur *de Torcy* was still Prime Minister, and we were the Subject of Contests between him and the *English* Minister; the King of *England* made Complaints to the *French* Minister, that he should not permit the Pretender to go thro' their Kingdom to embark; and it was thought, both on one

Side and the other, that this would occasion a Rupture.

Notwithstanding, in a little Time, the Face of Things were entirely changed; the Death of *Louis XIV.* baffled their Hopes on that Side; *Philip of Orleans*, the Regent of the Kingdom, was not of the same Dispositions as the King that was deceased; he did not fail to assure *England*, that he would live in a good Intelligence with them; and to that Purpose, that he would not suffer the Pretender to set Foot in *France*.

Notwithstanding all these Assurances, *England* could not be quiet; the *Jacobites* took Arms in several Places of the Kingdom, they even went so far as to proclaim him; and the Stop that was put upon me, did not hinder the People from shewing their Joy, at their Hopes of my Return, by the extraordinary Acclamations they made, as I was informed.

I did not forget on my Side to encourage the *Jacobites*; I joined myself to the *Chevalier*, and we took all possible Measures to keep up the Spirit of the People.

I wrote a Letter to *England*, and particularly to the Bishops, that the *Chevalier* had appointed me his Captain-General; and soon after, having made great Preparations he went into *Scotland*, but having no Success there, he was obliged to abandon the Enterprize.

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The Earl of *Stairs*, Envoy from the King of *Great Britain* to *France*, presented a new Memorial to the Regent, in order to render the Efforts of the Pretender ineffectual, as well as those of his Party; and to let the Regent know, in Behalf of his Master, the entire good Will of *Great Britain* towards them; and desiring further, that pursuant to the Treaty of *Utrecht*, that he would give Orders that the Pretender should not enter on *French* Ground; and that the King his Master would ever maintain a good Intelligence with his Most Christian Majesty.

The Duke Regent replied to the Earl of *Stairs*, that he knew very well the Preparations that the Chevalier *de St. George* was making, and that he would surely prevent it, and immediately give Orders to that Effect: He assured him, that he earnestly desired to live in good Intelligence with the King his Master; that the Chevalier should not stay in *France*; and desired him to notify the same.

The Chevalier, as he could not stay in *France*, went to *Avignon*, a *Venetian* County, and in the Province of *Siege*, whither I followed him.

Avignon is a Village filled with People of Condition, and there were a great Number of *English* there, that had followed him; he express'd as much Satisfaction as if he had been on a Throne, and express'd their Joy
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as much as they could, at his being there.

It was in that Place that I began to drown the Thoughts of my Country's Ingratitude, by the Pleasures of Love: Among all the Ladies that were there, I cast my Eyes on the Marchioness of V-----: She was parted from her Husband; and under a Pretence of re-uniting them, I began my Acquaintance; tho' I told the Persons there, that was my Intention, yet I believe it was not my first Design; however it was, her Beauty struck me; Our first Conversation turned upon the Difference which obliged her to part from her Husband, and she recounted to me her Complaints against him, in the following Manner.

Your good Intentions, my Lord, are not vain; I know, my Husband was so unreasonable, and I suffered so much by him, by his unworthy Treatment of me, that after I have told you what I have to say, I will appeal to you, whether you think Reason would let me live with such a Person.

We were married to each other about fifteen Years, seven of which, by the ill Usage with which I was persecuted, and three Years since, I am changed to what you see: He was certainly agreeable, nor do I compliment him in saying so; neither need I tell you, continued she, that Love united us; the Day of our Marriage, I was thirteen Years old, and as I had no Inclination, from
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that Time I began; my Husband was of a Form to inspire Love, which was the first Effect of our Marriage; he seemed to deserve the Tenderness I shewed him, the three first Years of our Marriage, and several little Endearments made me believe that his Love was true: In the latter End of the first Year after our Marriage, I brought him a Son, a Bond of our mutual Love, and another at the End of the third Year; my Happiness was then compleat, my Husband gave me no Reason of Discontent, but seemed to place his whole Delight in me: Happy would it have been for me, if he had had the same Sentiments for me, as I had for him; I was scarcely up from my last lying in, than I began to find an Alteration in the tender Motions that he used to shew me; and what it was for, my Lord, I can't tell; a Coolness first began it, and a Hatred succeeded that Coolness.

I had soon a fatal Proof thereof; my Husband could not contain himself long, he began to let me know his Coolness, by the haughty Airs he used to me, and which were insupportable, and which I could not refrain from speaking of. Again, if he had any Reason to complain of me, 'twas owing to the Effects of my Jealousy; I ought to be entirely pardoned, since I could with Pleasure have forgot all his Amours; but, my Lord, can you imagine, that if he rendered himself false,

false, I should not let him know it? But so low was he reduced, that even a mean Sempstress whom he loved, had from the very Beginning of our Marriage, shared with me my Husband's Caresses.

My Youth, and the Dread of getting my Father's Displeasure, made him in some Measure disguise his Villany, but the Death of my Father prevented his feigning much longer, and the Advice of the Wretch he loved, persuaded him to unmask; not content to disturb me with his haughty Usage, to mortify me farther, he introduced the Creature into the House, and obliged me to receive her well; I was enraged, you may imagine, at this Proceeding, and it was owing to the Disturbance it gave me, that I made Use of several very harsh Words: Is it for this Object, said I, that you despise me, (for I had lost all Reason by this Misfortune) or do you think that I will long bear these Indignities, with which you make me thus miserable? Do you know what you do? and to whose pernicious Counsels is this owing? It will be both your Ruin and mine, replied I: But he answered me in a Passion, even much greater than mine, that he very well knew how to impose Silence on me, and make me obey. I left him immediately upon this, and went to my Chamber, and wept, to think of the Ills with which he threatened me.

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At saying these Words she dropp'd some Tears, and her Grief touched my Heart: Yes, Madam, said I, I find that your Spouse has not behaved to you as he ought to do; you deserve much better Treatment; but should he repent, and make you fit Reparation for his Offence, would you not pardon him? He repent! continued she: No, my Lord, he never can; and do not think that I have told you all his ill Usage; no, I have still more Reason to complain, and for which I could not avoid parting with him: I hoped that Time and my Constancy might bring him to Reason, but entirely forgetting his Honour, and the Regard due to my Sex, grown still more bold, some few Days after I had complained of his Infidelity, tho' with a Tenderness able to bring him to a Sense of my Sufferings, (if his Heart had not been averse to all Tenderness) he laid violent Hands on me, a Baseness which is unworthy of an honest Man, and much more a Man of Condition: After this Behaviour, I could no longer keep it a Secret; I departed soon afterwards from his House, and went to my Mother, to whom I related what had happened to me, and which I had suffered a long Time without complaining: My Mother received me with the greatest Goodness; my Misfortune touch'd her; and since I can no longer live with my Husband, I no more desire to see him; the Love which I had for him has given Place to my Resentment; nay, tho' he should repent of the

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At saying these Words she dropp'd some Tears, and her Grief touched my Heart: Yes, Madam, said I, I find that your Spouse has not behaved to you as he ought to do; you deserve much better Treatment; but should he repent, and make you fit Reparation for his Offence, would you not pardon him? He repent! continued she: No, my Lord, he never can; and do not think that I have told you all his ill Usage; no, I have still more Reason to complain, and for which I could not avoid parting with him: I hoped that Time and my Constancy might bring him to Reason, but entirely forgetting his Honour, and the Regard due to my Sex, grown still more bold, some few Days after I had complained of his Infidelity, tho' with a Tenderness able to bring him to a Sense of my Sufferings, (if his Heart had not been averse to all Tenderness) he laid violent Hands on me, a Baseness which is unworthy of an honest Man, and much more a Man of Condition: After this Behaviour, I could no longer keep it a Secret; I departed soon afterwards from his House, and went to my Mother, to whom I related what had happened to me, and which I had suffered a long Time without complaining: My Mother received me with the greatest Goodness; my Misfortune touch'd her; and since I can no longer live with my Husband, I no more desire to see him; the Love which I had for him has given Place to my Resentment; nay, tho' he should repent of the

ill Usage with which he had treated me, yet I assure you, upon my Word, I could not consent upon any Terms to live with him again.

The Resentment with which she spoke these last Words, made me imagine that she was fixt in her Resolution; and I lookt upon it as a Prefage of Love for me: And I was particularly delighted with this Adventure. I must tell you, Madam, said I, that I seem to suffer equal Extremities upon your Account; and I assure you, Madam, that I shall never attempt to bring about any Accommodation with him; no, Madam, he does not deserve it. I am surpris'd! when he had a Spouse so adorable a Person, of so much Vivacity, and whose Beauty surpasses all that I have seen, and to sacrifice her to the Resentment of a Wretch who had no other Merit than Libertinism: Is it possible, continued I, that a Man of Knowledge should be ignorant of the Value of what he possess'd?

All the World, replied she, does not think like you; I should have been happy, if I had found a Husband of your Character, who would naturally have won my Heart, and claimed my best Regard for ever.

I began to form some Hopes from this Discourse, but could not leave her without Reply: Yes, Madam, said I, you are too lovely to be unhappy; and I can't but say, I am more than ordinarily interested on your Account.

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In short; Madam, your Beauty, your Spirit, and your Misfortunes have sensibly touch'd me, and I wish from my Soul, that I was in a Condition to make a Reparation for the Loss of your Husband. Think what you say, my Lord, replied she: Yes, Madam, I do think, said I, in fine I love you, and if you'll permit me, will convince you that my Love shall be eternal.

Although I know that you flatter me, replied she, yet the Flattery is so sweet, that I can't but yield my Soul; tho' I know you well, my Lord, and that no one is more capable of feigning, yet my Heart won't let me believe but it is true.

After these reciprocal Assurances, we took all proper Measures to prevent the Suspicion of Slanderers: Thus happily was I possess'd of my dear Marchioness, and I in some Measure repaired the Elopement of her Husband; as I loved her infinitely, and could not pass a Day without going to see her, we could not prevent People from prattling: Her Husband, you may depend on't, was not the last to hear what was said of us: This opened his Eyes, and my Choice made him find out his Wife's Beauty, and by this began to grow in Love with her, after having treated her so basely.

He was very much troubled how to be satisfied of this Amour, and the Character which his Spouse had, gave him no Hopes at all, but was very prejudicial to him, having

used her so ill: He did not know which Way to turn himself, to bring about an Accommodation with his Lady; he address'd himself to me, pretending that he could not bear the publick Report, and desiring me to interceed in the Affair; adding, that he would engage in any Manner to assure her of his Fidelity upon his Return: He could not have address'd any one worse; I told him that I would speak; and to the Purpose I did speak: But my Lady was so well contented with me, that she would not change, she told me, no not for all the Husbands in the World, so great was her Esteem for me.

I was very much embarrass'd by this Commission of the Husband: I had no Hopes to give him, but told him that his Lady's Answer was, that she could not be persuaded of his Sincerity by his Return, but that she would wait till Time and his Constancy should vanquish her Incredulity. This Answer was not much to his liking, and he sought out other Means to accomplish his Designs.

In the mean Time, the Efforts he made, came to the Knowledge of the World. His Lady desired me to lessen the Number of my Visits, on the Account of her Reputation; the World will not fail, said she, to attribute my Repugnance of returning to my Husband, to your assiduous Visits.

You very well know my Lord how much it concerns me to retrench these Pleasures
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which we naturally taste, but it is absolutely necessary at this present Conjunction. The Reputation of the Ladies was always dear to me, although I felt the greatest Pain imaginable, at leaving my dear Marchioness, I resolv'd however to make myself more easy than I appear'd, I lessen'd my Visits, in order to fix her Content.

Her Husband had frequently tried, tho' in vain, other Methods to be reconciled to her; and attributed her unwillingness and refusal, to nothing but her Love for me. She on the other Side contented herself by imagining, that he would be despised by all Men of Honour, and that no Body could blame a Woman, whom Jealousy, and the discovering of his Love to another had forc'd to it, for returning it to a Man who had us'd her so ill.

He was in such a Rage in finding all his Attempts in vain, that he form'd a Resolution of being reveng'd on his Wife in a most Tragical Manner; and the better to accomplish it, he engaged a Domestick of hers, who should introduce him to her Chamber when it should be late, assuring the Servant, that it was not with a Design to hurt her Mistress.

The Servant brib'd by his Rewards, as well urged to it by an innocent Design of serving her Master, did not stick to serve him on that Occasion: she introduced him into her Lady's Chamber, where she hid him behind the Tapestry;

Tapestry ; being thus hid close to the Wall, he waited the Return of his Wife, in order to execute the odious Design which he had premeditated.

The Marchioness sup'd that Night with a Lady of her Acquaintance, where the Company was numerous and brilliant, and I found she had a particular Pleasure in my staying with her ; which Opportunity I laid hold on to give her all possible Marks of the Continuance of my Love ; after we had sup'd, which was very late, I took Coach to return with her, and we soon got to her Apartment ; her Husband had waited for that Time with the utmost Impatience, having been seven or eight Hours in the Corner ; but the Hopes of his Revenge made him forget the unpleasantness of his Situation.

As soon as we enter'd we went into the Parlour ; when my Lady's Woman came to know if she would go to bed, she bade her get every thing ready and she would go in half an Hour, during which time we gave mutual tokens of our Love ; these tender Preludes of Love were just beginning, when we were disturb'd by a loud Cry in the House.

Being disturb'd at this Noise, I was drawing my Sword, expecting some Encounter ; and would have gone out of the Parlour to enquire the Reason of the Noise, but the Lady fell on her Knees, and would not permit me, and held me so with her Arms, that

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it was almost impossible to make any Resistance. In the mean Time the Cry redoubled, and the Shrieks grew louder and louder, when we heard somebody rush down Stairs, open the Street Door, and retreat with the utmost Precipitation; this was no proper Time for Love.

We soon found out the Cause of this Rumour, the Chamber Maid descended all over Blood, the Lady begg'd me not to open the Parlour Door, but by my Perswasions consented to open it to the Girl, who recounted to us what a Risque she had run; she told us that as soon as she enter'd her Lady's Chamber, having dropt the Candle *Jasmin* (who was a Servant of mine, that was in Love with the Girl) followed her without making any Noise; and that he had no sooner enter'd the Chamber, then he felt a Blow of a Poignard in his Back, which tho' it did not run quite thro' his Body, yet wounded him very much; the Marchioness trembled at the Girl's Tale; but was much more alarm'd, when one of my Domesticks, disturb'd by the Cry, brought a Light, by which she perceived her Husband, mad at his Disappointment, with Sword in Hand, traversing with my Servants.

We then found out the Mystery; the Marchioness demanded of me trembling, if her Husband was got off; and upon my assuring her that he was, it reviv'd her a little; her Chamber Maid received another Wound in the Hand, by which she lost a great deal of
Blood,

Blood, tho' it prov'd not very dangerous, and the Marchioness retired after having given orders that she should be look'd after; I tax'd my Servant with the Affair, but tho' he would not confess any thing immediately, yet I found that he had followed my Example, in shewing his Love to the Maid, when my Lady's Husband, who as I said before had got into the House with a Design to break off the Commerce with me, by the Darkness mistook *Rosette* for my Lady, and *Jasmin* for me.

My Lady, tho' she had gain'd a little more Courage, yet would not let me depart, imagining that her Husband would enterprize something against me; but I would give no heed to it; I had my Servants with me, and notwithstanding the most pressing Instances she could make to detain me, I left her fully, resolved never to expose myself to the like, but to make my Amour more agreeable; this Adventure was stifled as much as possible, the Lady's Husband retired to his Country Seat, and was not seen any more in Town, or at the Court.

Love did not employ all my Time at *Avignon*; the *Chevalier* had not quitted his Design of going to *England*, and at that Time several Circumstances seem'd to favour that Design; we had got the King of *Sweden* in our Interest, and he so earnestly engaged in it, that we form'd to ourselves a happy Conclusion.

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This Negotiation was carried on with all imaginable Secrecy; I wrote several Letters to Baron *Goerts* on that Subject, to let him know that the *English* were divided, and the Jacobites were superior, which seemed to answer our Desires: In the mean Time, we had Orders to depart from *Avignon*; *France* was formerly our very good Friend, but now obliged us to leave that Town: We went to *Stockholm*, in order to concert Measures with the King of *Sweden*; but we found it was not a proper Time to open the Affair, and that all our Designs would prove abortive, unless well concerted.

After we had consulted what to do in this Conjunction, we resolved to go to *Rome*, where we might wait in Safety till an Opportunity should offer to open the Business: We left *Avignon*, and that Journey was very lucky to me, for notwithstanding the Accident that happened to the Marchioness, I found, with the utmost Precaution, that we could not conceal our Love.

The News of our Departure was no sooner known at *Avignon*, than a general Consternation spread itself all over the Town: The Chevalier was even adored there, which made him now so much regretted; the Marchioness was more sensible of it than any one; she lost in me a Lover who was some Consolation to her under the Loss of her Husband, and she thought he might shew his Hatred to her

more in my Absence, than he durst while we were at *Avignon*.

Before we parted, we gave fresh Instances of our mutual Tenderneſs, and expreſs'd our Love by the ſtrongeſt Transports : And when all Things were ready for our Departure, the Chevalier heard Maſs in the Pariſh-church of *St. Didier* ; I went before to *Chantilly*, a pleaſant Houſe belonging to the *Celeſtins*, about a League from *Avignon* ; the Chevalier came after to Dinner, accompanied by a ſmall Number of Perſons of Diſtinction, and after Dinner we continued our Rout thro' *Dauphiny* and *Savoy*.

The Chevalier travelled *incognito*, notwithstanding which, he was received at *Turin* with the Firing of the Cannon from the Ramparts and the Town ; their *Sicilian* Majeſties gave him a particular Audience, under the Name of the Marquis *de Cavagne* ; he was ſerved by their Majeſties Officers, and rendered the ſame Honours as Sovereign Princes, notwithstanding the Complaints that were made at the Court of *Turin* by the *Engliſh* Miniſter, upon his meeting with ſo pompous a Reception.

We could not ſtay long at *Turin*, but continued our Rout towards *Plaiſance* ; we were entertained with the utmoſt Magnificence, the Duke of *Parma* received us with the greateſt Honours, and we met with the ſame at *Modena*.

The Chevalier went to viſit the Duke, who came with the Princes his Sons, who met him

him in the Palace-yard; he likewise paid his Compliments to the Princess; and was afterwards conducted to the Palace, where the King of *Denmark* was entertained, when he visited *Italy*; the Duke was with the Prince his Sons in the Palace, where they complimented the Chevalier on his happy Arrival, and afterwards went to an elegant Supper: We were preparing to set out the next Morning, upon which Occasion he wished us a happy Journey in Form, and gave private Orders for a Table to be set in the Chamber of *Mirrors*, an Apartment of extraordinary Beauty, where he had provided a most exquisite Dinner; the Duke had thus agreeably surpris'd us: After the Repast, we went in the Duke's Coaches to *Bologn*, a Town famous for its University, belonging to *St. Siege*, and is the principal of that Part.

We arriv'd the same Night in that Town; the Chevalier went to the Palace of *Belloni*, which was illuminated on all Sides; he there received the Visits of the Legate and the Archbishop, in their Habits of Ceremony, and several of the Nobility of that Place: The next Morning he did not appear, because we were employed in sending Dispatches, relating to the grand Affair then on the Tapis, which we imagin'd grew every Day better and better: In the Evening he received more Visits, and the next Morning we departed *incognito*.

He was treated with the greatest Honours thro' all the Ecclesiastick State; nevertheless he would not permit them to fire the Cannon at his Arrival at *Pizaro*; he supp'd in Publick the first Night of his Arrival, but without any Distinction of Rank or Place; there were several *English* Gentlemen, but a great many *Italians*, among the rest Don *Carlo Albani*, the Vice-legat, and the Marquis *Busalini*: He was attacked at *Pizaro* with a violent Illness, but he was happily recovered by some Purges, and bathing in his Chamber: It was here that we assembled our Forces, and upon Examination found them to consist of two hundred Persons: I accompanied him to the Churches, where he distributed several Sums of Money among the poor People, and gave, on all Occasions, Marks of his Piety and Generosity. About that Time we were informed of the Detention of the *Swedish* Ministers in *England*: Our Projects, which we had been so long concerting, entirely vanished at this News: He received it with a Grandeur worthy of him; he called me to him that Night in particular, speaking of this new Misfortune, he told me, that he was sensible of the Strokes of Fortune, and how vain it was to attempt that Enterprize; in short, my Lord, said he, I was born under an unfortunate Star; this Misfortune has destroyed all our fair Hopes; I am not any Ways uneasy, I assure you, for myself, but for you, and for those who are attach'd to my Fortune; the ill
News

News of the Detention of the *Swedish* Ministers, gives us no Reason to hope for any Thing from that Quarter; *Rome* now offers a sure Asylum; go then, my dear Lord, go and wait for a more favourable Time to finish our Misfortunes, and free us from our Enemies.

Sir, replied I, with the same Pleasure that I would go to see you mount a Throne, with the same Satisfaction that I have received Favours from you, with the same Ardour would I partake your Troubles and Misfortunes; but yet let us not entirely lose all Hopes.

The next Day we sent out for *Rome*; Cardinal *Gualteri* came to meet us with two Coaches and Six; he took his Place with the Cardinal, and went to the Palace of *Gualteri*, which was magnificently ornamented to receive him: At his Arrival he was complimented in Behalf of the Pope by Monsieur *Maffei*; the Chevalier received him with the greatest Marks of Distinction, and informed him that he should stay some Time with them; the Cardinal *Acciaoli*, Dean of the holy College, and the rest of the Cardinals, sent their *Major-domos* to make him the like Compliments, and to be informed in what Manner he would please to receive their Visits; the *Major-domo* at Cardinal *Gualteri's*, received their Compliments to him, and returned them Thanks, telling them he would shortly fix a Time and Ceremonial to receive the Visits of their Eminencies.

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The Princes and Nobility paid their Compliments to him, as if he were King. Some few Days after, Don *Carlo Albani* came to him, and conducted him to a Balcony magnificently adorned, by Order of the Pope, near which the Procession *Corpus Domini* was to pass, in order to celebrate the Feast; I was with the Chevalier in the same Balcony: There had not been for some Time a Procession so numerous, or conducted in such good Order; it began with the Religious of all the Orders, followed by the Basilicans and the Canons; then all the Colleges of Chancelry, carrying Torches in their Hands; then came the Procurers-General of the Orders, the Advocates of the Consistory, the Persons of the Chamber of Honour in red Robes, the Gentlemen of the Pope's Chappel, the Prelates of the Seal, the Auditors of the Rota, the Hussars of the Chamber, the Votaries of the Seal, the Pensioners and Bishops Assistants, the Cardinals, Deans, Priests and Bishops, the *Roman* Magistrates, the Ambassador of *Boulogne*, the Constable of *Colonna*, two Cardinal Deacons, and two Auditors of the Rota, on each Side of the Pope, preceded by his Squire and Harbinger.

The holy Father was carried by his Attendants, and followed by the Privy-chamber, the Prothonotaries apostolical, and the Generals of their Order; the Procession was closed by a Company of Horse-guards, consisting of four and twenty Men; his Holiness stopp'd

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stopp'd for some Time over against the Balcony which the Chevalier was in, and gave several of the Benedictions *del Sanctissimo*: Tho' my Religion was different from the Roman Catholick, yet I could not help being much pleas'd with their Magnificence; I compar'd them to the Triumphs of the ancient *Romans*, only in those you might discern the Effects of some great Victory, which they had obtained, and in the present, the Effects of Peace: Yet *Cæsar* himself might have been content with a Papal Triumph.

After the Procession, we were regaled with all Manner of Refreshments, which consisted of Pullets, Ducks, Pheasants, Partridge, Tortoise, Sturgeon, and diverse other Things.

After this the Chevalier went to visit *Campadoglio*, the House of the *Jesuits*, where he was received by the General of the Society; the Riches that abounded in the Chappel of *St. Ignatius* surprized me, but my Surprise ceased, when I recollected what sort of Persons the *Jesuits* were.

The same Day the Pope and the Chevalier had an Interview, in which the first could not refrain from shedding some Tears; they parted after having been two Hours alone together, very much satisfied with each other; and his Holiness paid him the same Honours as had formerly been given to *Charles* the V. on a like rencounter.

I was not for making any long stay at *Rome*, but wanted to be doing Service to the

the Chevalier: I made Account to go to *Sweden*, but the Affairs of that Place had chang'd their Face; so that before I departed, I had several Conferences with Cardinal A---, His Eminence to whom I paid many Visits, was more free and familiar than I could have imagined: he desired me several Times to dine with him; he even admitted me into his Privy-chamber, where laying aside the Character of one of the Head of the Church, he lived with a beautiful young *Roman* Lady in the greatest Luxury.

In these secret Enjoyments, we forgot our Business, and entirely gave ourselves up to Pleasure; the Cardinal press'd me to use nothing but Freedom with him: Can you think, my Lord, said he, that Men in our Conditions will suffer themselves to be buried alive? Your Priests in *England* think themselves happier than us, from the Liberty they have of marrying; but they are mistaken, they find some Pleasure it is true, but the Pain is inseparable; and instead of that, we, by a wise Forecast, abstain from Marriage, yet taste nevertheless all the Pleasures of Love, without any of the Pain; by which specious Pretence we impose upon the Weakness of the People, and unknown to them taste all the Joys and Delights of Life.

After some Discourse of this Sort, he conducted me into a secret Apartment, hid from all the House besides, where the young Beauty, dress'd like a Queen, and ready for Pleasure,

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sure waited his Coming; I was astonish'd I assure you at the Sight of so many Charms; after I had made her some Complements, which the Cardinal desired me to abridge, and to act without Ceremony, we sat down to Table; his private Officers serv'd us with a Repast of Dainties that spoke the Cardinal's good Taste: Nevertheless I could not eat with a good Appetite, for all the Time I was employed in stealing Glances from the young Beauty; the delicious Poison of the lustful Cardinal.

His Eminence press'd me much to be free at his Table; he ask'd me to eat several times, and drank to me himself; then ask'd me how I liked his Banquet; I told him it gave me incredible Pleasure; Our discourse then turned upon Love, the young Lady behaved with a Spirit that gave a Life to our Conversation; She was pretty well vers'd in that Matter, and knew by the Strength of her Charms, that she had made an Impression on my Heart; nay, the Poison already began to work.

My Eyes were continually gazing upon her, and tho' I was none of the Youngest, yet I had an Air of Vigour that always render'd me agreeable to the Fair Sex; the Joy that I read in her Eyes, were so many fresh Darts; and the Answer in the same Language, were as satisfactory as I could wish: In this mute Conversation, she gave me to understand, that the only Way

for us to better explain our Meaning, was to make the Cardinal drunk; I obey'd her exactly: On the other Side she did not fail to please him; and we managed it so well, that in a little time his Eminence was without Knowledge or Thought; seeing him in that Condition, the fair *Roman* order'd a Privy-chamber to be go ready, and he was conducted half dead to another Apartment; where he went to sleep, and waited in quiet till the Fumes of the Wine were evaporated.

During the Time the Cardinal repos'd so quietly, I was too well employ'd to do the same. The Lady was sensible of my Love; and as I was no ways backward in declaring it, she did not let me sigh long for the obtaining of her Favours; we had no Time to lose, and we were such good Husbands of our Moments, that on a Sophy which excited us to Pleasure, we gave ourselves up to all the Transports of a reciprocal Ardour. I never in my Life tasted more exquisite Pleasure; the young *Roman* had an extraordinary Vivacity; her Complexion was thoroughly amorous, and she own'd that the Pleasure she then had in my Conversation was equal to mine.

We had a long Time to talk together; and I demanded of her by what Accideat I had the Happiness to find her there. She satisfy'd my Curiosity in few words, in the following Manner:

I am (*said she*) of *Rome*, my Father, whom

whom I never knew, abandon'd my Mother with three little Infants, and left her expos'd and went to Beggary; My Mother was willing to give me an Education that I might get my living in an honest Way, and to that Purpose made me learn Musick; with a tolerable Voice that I had, and the Figure which you see, I was so happy, that at the Age of Thirteen Years I had many Admirers: But notwithstanding that my Heart determin'd in favour of one immediately; 'twas the Nephew of the Cardinal with whom I now am; that young Lord, made all manner of Propositions to incline me to follow him; My Love assured me that all his Promises were true, and we concluded to escape together; and that Night he was to carry me away, my Mother was gone out, and I only was left in the House, when I made no difficulty of getting into a Coach with him; he conducted me to a House which he had provided on purpose for me; where I was to live under the Eyes of a Governante whom he had chosen for that Purpose.

As we were getting out of the Coach, he was attack'd by three Men in Masks; who without giving him any time to defend himself, struck him three times with their Stilettos and mortally wounded him in the basest Manner in the World: His Servants that were with him, pursued the Assassins, who conscious of the Crime which they came to commit, betook themselves to flight after they

had attack'd my Lover: This Spectacle took away the use of my Senses; nevertheless the Cardinal's Nephew, made me go into the House, and recommended me to the Governante: He got into the Coach again, and went to have his Wounds dress'd; but the Surgeon upon examining them found they were Mortal, and accordingly advis'd him to prepare for Death. Startled at this News, he sent word to his Uncle of the Condition he was in; the Cardinal who loved him extremely, came to see him immediately; when soon after he had arrived he found him dead: But as soon as the young Lord saw his Uncle, he told him in what manner his Misfortune had happened; and likewise gave him an Account of our Amour, and recommended it to him withal, that if he had ever any Tenderness for him, that he would promise to take care of me; which the Cardinal had no sooner promis'd than his Nephew expired. I was too soon informed of his Death, and was inconsolable; but after the Elopement I had made, I could not upon any Account return home, and did not well know what course to take: The Governante who was to take Care of me, would have been very well pleas'd with me, if I would have consented to the Traffick she would have made of me. Three days elapsed after the Death of the young Lord, without my determining what Method to take: I was in the utmost Uncertainty when the Cardinal sent a Gentleman of his Chamber

ber to the Governante, to tell her that the Cardinal, the Uncle of my Lover, had given Orders that I should follow him; I was no ways backward to obey him; the Governante was weary of me, as I was of her. As soon as I arrived at the Cardinal's, he address'd me with the greatest Politeness; and told me the last Words that his Nephew had pronounced in my Favour, and further that he did not doubt but I should deserve them.

I was in this Situation as you found me, and indeed he behaved so well to me, that I have no reason to complain in any Shape, except that he puts a Constraint upon my Love; I am still young, my Lord, continued she, and to this Day have an Idea of my first Love; and then concluded by telling me, that if I lov'd her, she was resolved to follow me; I very well knew the Impossibility of complying with her demand; notwithstanding all the Love I had for her, I knew it would be an Action that would make too much noise in the World, besides what it would be to the Cardinal; However, I told her that if she could find any plausible Pretence to leave him, I then would shew her how great an Esteem I had for her.

She told me that she was determined to leave him, whatever her Escape should be attributed to; Our Conversation ended thus, the Cardinal still slept, and I retired waiting to see him, and confer with him on several Affairs;

Affairs; for notwithstanding his Foibles and Faults, yet he was a sensible Man. I saw him again some time since my departure from *Rome*, and he frequently paid Visits to the Chevalier at *Scala Sancta*, where he always appeared more sedate than when he was at home; I transacted with the Cardinal not only Business but Pleasure, for in Spite of the Vigilance of the *Italian*, I found several Opportunities of being alone with the young *Roman*: Some Time after I departed from *Rome* to go to *Spain*; I embarked at *Genoa*, whence having taken a Tour Northward, (upon a design of which I shall speak afterwards) I arrived at the Court of *Madrid*, and was received with all possible Marks of Distinction.

Spain was at that Time making several considerable Armaments; she thought that was a proper Season to recover her Rights, and to retake what she had lost by the last Peace, viz. the States of *Italy*, *Sicily* and several others; she thought that *France* would second her Designs, but the Regent had other Views; he opposed the Interests of *Spain*, and would not favour any of their Enterprises, but thwarted them as much as he could, so far that there had like to have been an open Rupture between the two Kingdoms.

England form'd Suspicions of *Spain*, and to add to the Power of the Duke Regent of *France*, seconded whatever he undertook; I thought

thought we might gain something from so favourable an Occasion, to make *Spain* revenge our Cause on *England*, for opposing the Chevalier: It was no great Difficulty to persuade Cardinal *Alberoni* how easy it was to make a Descent upon *Scotland*, where I had been practising, and was pretty well assured of Succours, for that the whole Place was uneasy at the Court. Cardinal *Alberoni*, who naturally loved any great Enterprize, was pleased at the Thought of resenting the Court of *England* joining with *France*; he esteem'd my Project much, and let me know that he would second it.

The Chevalier entered in my Method, and after many Conferences which I had with him and Cardinal *Alberoni*, it was resolved that he should go to *Madrid*, and get their Catholick Majesties to acknowledge him as King.

This was a main Stroke to encourage the Chevalier's Party in *England*; I wrote to him at *Rome* the happy Success of my Negotiations; upon which he left *Italy*, and arrived at the Court of *Madrid*.

Their Catholick Majesties received him with the same Honours as his Father had met with in *France*, when he first left *England*: The Chevalier was conducted in his Majesty's body Coach to the Palace of *Buen-Retiro*, where the next Morning, their Catholick Majesties, and the Prince of *Asturias*, came to visit him, as likewise all the principal

pal Officers of the Crown. I had not seen him since I left *Rome*, the ill Success of my Enterprize, before I went to *Spain*, made me lose all Hopes of ever seeing him again; that Enterprize was the famous Affair, that was transacted by Baron *Goerts*, the *Swedish* Minister, and for which before my Voyage to *Spain*, I made a Tour to the North to confer with the Czar; and in order to strengthen our interests, I demanded of him one of his Daughters in Marriage to the Chevalier, and I hop'd by that alliance to bring about our Designs, but all my Projects were overthrown; notwithstanding which I left my Agent with the Czar, not to lose by Negligence so important an opportunity.

While I was managing this Affair, the Pope propos'd another Marriage to the Chevalier, he would have him espouse the Princess *Sobieſki*; all things were put to a stand by this; but before it was concluded, the Princess was stopp'd at *Inſpruck*, whence she had a Design to come to *Rome*; the Pope knew very well, the Chevalier's Interest on this Occasion, and thought it would not be improper to join him to a Power, who could give him very powerful Succours.

In the mean time the Death of the King of *Sweden*, destroy'd all my Hopes in the North, so that I applied myself entirely to *Spain*; the Cardinal *Alberoni* was a Minister of an enterprizing Genius, and readily came into Propositions, I made in behalf of the Chevalier.

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valier. His Arrival hastened the considerable Armaments that were making at *Spain*, and they declared openly for him : *Spain* had several good Reasons to break with *England*, and with the Empire, but she had not any to break with *France*; neither was that her Design: On the contrary, she hoped that the Duke Regent would be more favourable to her Enterprizes. In fine, every Thing broke out, *Spain* declared War against *England* and the Emperor: In this favourable Conjunction, I forgot nothing that could encourage the Chevalier's Party in *Scotland*, *Ireland* or elsewhere; and further to keep them in Spirit, I sent them the King of *Spain*'s Declaration, which contained, *That for many sufficient Reasons, he had determined to send a Party of his Forces by Sea and Land, into England and Scotland, to serve as Auxiliaries to — And what confirms me in this Design, added he, is, that I have received certain Informations that many of the two Nations, notwithstanding the strong Inclination and ardent Desire that they have to acknowledge him, yet dare not openly declare for him, thinking themselves unequal to such an Enterprize, being incapable of obtaining Employments worthy of their Birth and their Services; and that none of the Powers of Europe have had either Force or Will to assist them. Therefore to set aside these Difficulties, I judge it proper to let you know, that I am resolved to use all my Power to establish him in Possession of what I think to be his undoubted*

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Right; and I hope that Providence will favour so just a Cause.

And least any one should doubt of the Success, and therefore not join him, I promise a sure Retreat in my Kingdom to all those who shall join him; and if, contrary to all Probability, this Enterprize should fail of Success, and any of those faithful Subjects shall be obliged to abandon their Country, I declare by these Presents, that I will give to each Officer, either by Land or Sea, the same Employment that he enjoyed in England or Scotland, and that I will receive and treat their Soldiers as my proper Subjects.

This Declaration very much pleased the discontented; the King of *Spain* concluded by declaring, that he had ordained me in the Quality of Captain-General, to do every Thing proper; and that he hoped of Success.

Things were thus, when we plainly found that *France* could not long rest quiet; the Duke Regent was before engaged with the *English*, who seconded him, and turned all their Engagements towards them; he sent to that purpose an Army to *Roussilion*; and this was the first Thing that made *Spain* imagine they were Enemies: His Catholick Majesty's Troops triumph'd in *Sicily* over the Emperor's. By these Emotions, and what happened in *England*, I thought it would be a hard Thing to turn it upon *England*; *France* only afforded them Succours, and had some happy Omens

Omens at the Beginning, by the Progress their Troops had made at *Roussillon*, where *Spain* was not prepared for the Attack.

This Disappointment very much baffled our Projects, and quite altered the Prospect; the *English* in Alliance with *France* cruised on the Coast of *Spain*, and made some Prizes: Notwithstanding which, I continued my Preparations for making a Descent upon *Scotland*, where my Presence was necessary to encourage our Party, which was very much weakened by some Advantages which the King's Troops had gained over them.

In the mean Time, the Chevalier had Advice, that the Princess *Sobieski*, who had been detained at *Inspruck*, to prevent her Marriage, was come to *Rome*, with a Design to go to *Spain*, to conclude her Marriage with the Chevalier: After we had consulted about that Affair, it was resolved that the Chevalier should himself go to *Rome*; but very luckily, by the Princess's Arrival, his Voyage was prevented, and a great Expence saved, which the Court of *Spain* could not avoid bestowing on such an Occasion.

After this Determination, the Chevalier returned to *Rome*; the Princess *Sobieski* had been before espoused by proxy, and now waited the Return of the Chevalier her Spouse; she came to meet him as far as *Aquapendente*, in the District of *St. Peter*, where the Bishop of the Town resided; from thence they came immediately to *Rome*,

where they were received with all possible Dignity.

The Advantages which *France* had gained over *Spain*, the Ravages that the *English* had made, and the Peace that the *Dutch* proposed, in the Quality of Mediators, made me think what would shortly happen, *viz.* that they would desist from the good Intentions which they had testified to the Chevalier; and my Imaginations were fully confirmed by the sudden disgrace of Cardinal *Alberoni*: that Minister, who was attach'd to the Interests of the Chevalier, and who sought all Opportunities of rendring him formidable to the *English*, and who, spurr'd on by Glory, as well as Love for him, was capable, not only of attempting, but even executing any project. Notwithstanding his Disgrace, and the small Hopes that remained of my Enterprize's succeeding, yet I resolv'd not to quit *Spain*; the Justice of my Cause, as I imagin'd, made me flatter myself, that some more lucky Occurrence would assist my just Intentions: Nevertheless, since the Departure of Cardinal *Alberoni*, perceiving that the Dispositions of the Court were no Ways favourable to the Chevalier, I remained quiet, and waited a Time to make some more favourable Motion.

In the mean Time I did not fail to address the new Ministers on that Head; but they gave me to understand, that they should not refuse the Succours they promised me, but
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that, in the present Situation of Affairs, they could not second me openly.

The Regard which was paid me at *Madrid*, and the Favours that I had received from the chief Persons of the Kingdom, did not a little comfort me in the abortive Enterprizes I had formed; *Madrid* was at that Time the Scene of Amours; and it is not sufficient to say, that the Ladies there are not such Coquets as those in *France*, but that they are much more gallant, and of a more amorous Complexion, as I shall convince you.

Amongst several Noblemen with whom I was familiarly acquainted, the Duke *de los R-----* was more particularly attach'd to me, as I to him: He was very much respected at Court; and tho' he was something past his Youth, yet he pass'd for the most gallant Nobleman in the Kingdom; and, in Spite of my Misfortunes, I could not lose the Taste for Gallantry, which had always governed me.

It was this Sympathy of Soul that united us, and this Conformity of Character we were both sensible of; the Duke was intimate with the Countess of *M----*, as I was afterwards informed, when we were together at an Assembly: There was an Assembly the politest in *Madrid*; every one had his Inamaretto, and I was the only one who was not initiated in the Mysteries of Love: To give me a Proof of his Friendship, the Duke him-

himself undertook to initiate me : There arrived at that Time, at *Madrid*, a *Toledan* Lady, whose Beauty dazzled all those of the Court ; with this Lady there came a Relation of the Countess's, who took a Pleasure in introducing her to the Assembly : This was a Subject of Jealousy to all the other Ladies, who believed, and not without Reason, that she would eclipse them by her Beauty, which was so much superior to theirs : This presently appeared, and gave the Ladies an Uneasiness, at perceiving the Infidelity of their Lovers.

I perceived with sensible Pleasure the Revolutions that threatned this amorous Monarchy ; and being a quiet and impartial Spectator, I waited the Conclusion with Impatience ; the Duke *de los R----* was the first who attempted a Conquest of that Beauty, which was the Occasion of much Trouble afterwards ; the Countess perceived it, and was irritated to the last Degree : Notwithstanding which, the *Toledan* Lady, no Doubt, instructed by her Friend, preserved the Harmony of the Company, and behaved in such a Manner to the Duke, as entirely baffled all his Hopes.

Three other Noblemen made the same vain Attempt, and redoubled the Distress of those that were with them : The Duke piqued at his bad Success, and imagining that the other Pretenders might perhaps meet with better, advised me to take the Rank, and pacify

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cify those Ladies, who, enraged with their Lovers, would not fail to make me a grateful Return.

I had at first no Inclination to what the Duke proposed, but something intervened; the Ladies, enraged at the Falsity of their Lovers, cast their Eyes upon me, to assist them in their Revenge; the Countess was the first who began, and the others followed her Example; I was not a little embarrass'd how to free myself from the Labyrinth into which I was got; I used my utmost Attention to consider what Part I should take; I knew not how to behave; if I had behaved civilly to one, I should have affronted all the rest.

After having consulted some Time with myself, I resolved to act agreeably to myself, tho' not perhaps in the Manner they could wish: Accordingly I followed my first Resolution, and the Advice of the Duke; I address'd the *Toledan* Lady, and at my Peril left myself open to the Fury of the other Assaultants: The rest of the Ladies not perceiving at first what Method I had taken, several of them pointed all their Charms, hoping that I should not refuse her.

The first Conversation I had with the *Toledan* Lady, was without giving me any great Hopes, or an absolute Denial; I represented to her the Love with which her Beauty had inspired me, and which, in Fact, commenced from that Moment: She received my

my Declaration as a Compliment, but in a Manner as made me imagine she wish'd it were real.

This Imagination remained with me, after a long Conversation which we had together, and that Idea increased the growing Love which I had for her; I was of an Age not to make any long Overtures, and weary of the Delays and Languors of Youth, after having made my Supplication, I let the Lady know, that I always made Love after the *English* Manner; and farther, that I could not sigh and wish for a long Time together.

As I complained of the tedious Advances of Love, she soon let me know the Conformity of her Sentiments to mine, upon that Subject: Charm'd with the easy Temper I found in her, I propos'd to pay her a Visit; she accepted of my Proposal, and it was in that Visit, that among several other Favours, I obtained the greatest she could bestow, or I ask. The Familiarity that appeared between us, was soon perceived by all the Ladies, who were somewhat satisfied that they had regained their Lovers.

The *Toledan* Lady made no Secret of our Conversation during the whole Assembly of the Countess, who was no Ways concerned on her Part; but this unguarded Behaviour very much embarrass'd our Affairs afterwards; I visited her publicly, and we tasted all the Pleasures of Love without Alloy; it lasted for six Months, when an extraordinary

nary unlucky Event intervened to disturb our Pleasures and our Repose.

Her Husband, for I should have told you that she was married, was upon his Affairs at the Court of *Rome*, during the six Months of our quiet Amours, but his Return from thence suddenly prevented us; the Lady did not fail to pay her Visits regularly to the Countess, but I could not see her so often as I would; notwithstanding which, I took all proper Occasions, which her Husband's Absence very much favoured us in: We had no Suspicion that her Spouse was any Ways jealous, and the Ease we were in, did not force us to take any Precaution.

He set out one Day for *Toledo*, under a Pretence that certain Affairs required his Presence at that Town, which was the Place of his Birth.

Before his Departure, he told his Lady he should be obliged to make a long Stay, and desired her to pass the Time as agreeably as she could, in his Absence: He might have omitted that Desire, for she herself had the same Wish; notwithstanding which, she answered him with the utmost Tenderness, and Marks of apparent Goodness, and could not quit him without Tears in her Eyes, but Tears of Joy not Grief, for his Departure was the true Motive.

After these Emotions, and feigned Marks of Love, both on one Side and the other, the Husband departed, as we imagined, to go to

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Toledo, but he only went to a Country-house of a Friend of his, that he himself might be made sensible, whether the Intrigues of his Wife, which he suspected, were true or no, for besides what he had been informed, he had had several Things that were sufficient to give Rise to his Suspicions of her Conduct.

The Departure of her Husband, gave the Lady an Opportunity of spending more Hours, than she commonly used, with the Countess.

She gave me to understand, by the Billet she sent to me, that she had something of Consequence to communicate to me, and which she could not do otherwise than by Word of Mouth: Not knowing what this Mystery might signify, I went thither with the Countess, where I found her waiting for me with Impatience; Ah! is it you, my Lord? said she, seeing me come in, when the Duke *de los R----* came in soon after me; and his entertaining the Countess, gave us an Opportunity of our Side to speak with more Liberty.

She began thus, You may very well judge, my Lord, what was the Reason of my desiring to speak with you; my Husband is this Day gone to *Toledo*, and the Desire I had of taking so favourable an Opportunity for our Amour, engaged me to write the Billet which you received; and how favourable is this to a Woman, tir'd with an insipid

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spid Husband: I replied, that I could not express my Joy at this; and indeed I was charmed, but that my Mortification was very great, that I could not stay that Night, because a Courier was arrived from *Rome*, which must depart next Morning.

This Difficulty, which she did not expect, I saw, chagrin'd her mightily, but I could not omit sending back the Courier, it being charg'd with very important and pressing Dispatches: We accordingly parted till next Morning, with a Design to repay with Usury the Moments we were thus obliged to lose: I did not stay long with the Countess, I got home Time enough to dispatch most of my Expresses. I had made a Minute of the Letters with which I was charged, and was just laid down to repose, when one of my Servants came to tell me a Person desir'd to speak with me, about some Affairs of Importance: Not imagining who it could be at such an Hour, I ordered the Servant to bid him enter, and to demand of him whether he could not reveal his Business to any Body but me; in the mean Time he was introduced into my Chamber, and the first Thing he said, was to desire me to dismiss my Servants: I could not imagine what was meant by all this Ceremony, but at Length we were left alone in the Chamber, and the great Periwig which covered the Face being removed, I knew it to be my *Toledan* Lady, who not having Resolution enough to pass the Night

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alone, came in Search of me for Company: I was going to my Repose, and sinking into the Arms of Sleep, being quite tired with writing so many Letters, but I knew very well that this Visit was the Poison of Repose, and it was not for nothing that she came in Search of Company. I was pretty well convinced of her Passion before, but this last Visit was a Proof of her Love for me. I no sooner knew her than I embraced her tenderly; she returned my Caresses with Transport, and gave me the last Proof of Love: After which I prepared an elegant Entertainment, to recruit our exhausted Spirits; after we had eat a little, we drank several Glasses of generous Wine, which increased the Lady's Vivacity: Renewed by this Refreshment, we commenced a-new our amorous Sports, till Sleep put an End. The Lady slept upon a Sopha, and I by her Side.

It was then the Midst of Summer, so that after we had slept two Hours, the Sun shone clearly out; the Light that came into the Chamber waked me first; I waked my fair Sleeper, and I believe her absent Spouse inspired this Event: Alas, we did not think all the while what a Storm was gathering for us; her Husband, who was gone, as I said before, to a Friend's Country-house, return'd the same Night he set out, to *Madrid*, and getting privately into his own Houle, waited to clear the Suspicions of his Lady's Conduct, but seeing no one enter the Apartments, he

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began to grow calm; nevertheless he would not appear further, believing she would insult him for his Suspicions, as he had Reason: he therefore kept concealed, waiting to see if any Thing else should happen, and I leave you to judge what a Fury he must be in, when he found that it was his Wife who went out at such a late Hour; he arm'd himself directly with two Pistols and a Poinard, and went streight to the Countess's, where he was convinced, by the Silence that reigned all over the House, that his Wife had taken another Rout, and that obliged him to come to me, having more Reason to suspect his Wife's being there, than at the Countess's; he stood Centinel at my Door, as I was afterwards informed, till Break of Day, when he retired, provoked at his vain Attempts: He went home, believing without Doubt that his Wife would return, and that then he should have an Opportunity of wreaking his Vengeance on her, for leaving the House, at a Time so unseasonable for a Woman; but he was surprized not to see her come back; he imagined doubtless, tho' he could not find her, that she was dishonouring him; but what hindered her from returning was, that she staid all the next Day with me, fearing lest she should be known, and then she told me she would go in my Coach to the Countess's, whither I should conduct her.

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During all this Time, the Husband did not know what Method to take; he would not declare what he thought, for Fear of blasting his Honour, and in Hopes that his Wife would not appear so criminal as Circumstances had conspired to convince him; at Length Night came, and his Rage increased at her long Stay; he left his House with a Resolution to find her out, to know where she had been, and to punish her, if guilty: As for us, we were ignorant of all that had pass'd; we arrived at the Hour appointed, at the Countess's Assembly; my fair *Toledan* was never more beautiful, nor in a gayer Humour than she was then, being perfectly happy and contented in my Company.

And wholly unknowing of the Blow with which she was threatned, she gave a Loose to Joy, and that Night began in a Manner that promised perfect Bliss; the Duke *de los R---* luckily came in, he ask'd the *Toledan* how she had pass'd the Night; she not being upon her Guard, answered, that she had pass'd it very pleasantly: I should think quite the contrary, said he, and that a Lady without her Spouse must waste it very disagreeably; I have found several Persons, replied she, who voluntarily will supply the Place of the Absent, and then it must be agreeable: He was going to speak to me concerning it, but I declined it.

This gay Conversation spirited us on more and more, when the Husband of the fair

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Toledan discovered himself; at the sudden Surprise, I saw her turn pale, tremble, and lose the Use of her Speech, as she was going to Answer the Countess; I first perceived the Confusion she was in, I was extremely concern'd for her, and fear'd the worst that could happen; she look'd at me, as if she would say be firm, for on you depends all my Safety.

Her Husband coming up to her broke thro' her Reflections, Anger was painted in his Countenance, and his Eyes shew'd the Rage and Passion he was in; Madam, said he, with a Sneer, when you can leave the Assembly, I would speak a Word with you, which my hasty Departure made me forget; she immediately obey'd him; and after they had withdrawn apart, shewing the fatal Poinard which he held in one Hand, and holding a Pistol in the other; see here, said he, the Reward due to such faithless Wretches as you, and shewing her the Mouth of the Pistol, 'tis this said he that can best speak my Revenge.

Any one may imagine what Terror this Sight excited in us, I was flying to oppose his Fury, tho' at the Price of my Life, but the Duke *de los R* --- stopp'd me, and prevented me from completing the Tragedy; he said the Husband would not do any base or mean Action, his Wife fell on her Knees, and the other Ladies the like all drown'd in Tears; but he was too well inform'd of his Dishonour, and fully bent to revenge it.

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The Duke *de los R--* held me all this while by Force, believing that my Behaviour would but the sooner urge him to her Murder; but he was no longer Master of me, when thro' his implacable Rage, I saw him level the Poinard at the Breast of the weeping Lady; I flew to her Rescue, when he fir'd his Pistol and I reel'd and fell backwards; seethere, said he, to the Lady, your wicked Accomplice, and to whom you shall be join'd; and lifting up his Arm with Fury, he gave her a Stab with the Poinard and she fell, not so much by the Force of the Blow as by the Fright she was in. He was going to attack the others, when two Servants hearing the Report of the Pistol, entred the Chamber, the Countess was frightened extreamly, and desired the Servants to give him good Words, they attack'd him behind, holding the Poinard, which he still brandish'd, threatening to commit more Murder; the Duke *de los R---* came up to him, and ordered the Servants to take away all the Arms he had about him. In the mean Time his Fury had so prey'd upon his Spirits, that he was not able to defend himself; they disarm'd him, and turn'd him out by Force; he went away in his Coach, well pleas'd that he had perform'd the bloody Deed he came for.

After this they judg'd it necessary to send for a Surgeon, the Violence of the Blow I had received, had wounded me so desperately, that I lost all Knowledge, and prevented

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me punishing the Affassin as he deserved; the Ladies were employed about her Wound, and the Fright at seeing it was worse than the Wound; during this, the Surgeon came, who having examined and prob'd her Wound, found it not to be dangerous, he dress'd it, and in the mean Time the Duke *de los R---* had me carried into another Apartment, where he followed me; and the Surgeon, after he had dress'd the Lady, came to visit me, and found me much more dangerously wounded than I imagined.

Notwithstanding, he dress'd my Wound, and recommended me to repose, and to stir as little as possible; I asked him if I might not go home in my Coach, he told me, if I did, it must be very slowly: After this the Duke *de los R---* went to inform the Ladies how I was, and afterwards went to accompany me home, where I was no sooner arrived, than I found my Spirits fail; I don't know whether it was owing to the Remedy or the Disease, but I was more weak since the former.

Tho' this Affair happened in the Presence of Persons who would keep it secret, yet it could not continue so long, the Court was informed of it, but as I took no Method of appearing against him for what he had done, he was ordered to depart privately from *Madrid*, and to conceal himself till all the Talk of this Accident was over.

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In the mean Time, the Lady, who did not leave the Countess, entirely recovered her Fright and her Wound in a few Days; as for me, I was not so lucky, and my Wound was so bad, that I several Times despaired of my Life; the Duke did not leave me all the while, several Lords came to pay me Visits, and shewed by their Friendship, what Part they took in this Accident: I remained a Month between Hope and Despair, when I began to find myself better, and by little and little entirely recovered.

When I was in a Condition to go abroad, I gave an elegant Entertainment to the Lords who had visited me, and I must confess that I met with a great deal of Civility in *Spain*; during the Entertainment, they were very merry upon my Adventure of Gallantry, and I even bantered myself upon it, which I could not have done the Month before.

Notwithstanding the ill Success I met with from the jealous *Spaniard's* Revenge, yet I still resolved to pursue the Rendezvous of Gallantry. This Year was not so lucky to me in my Pleasures, as it was unlucky to others, by the sad Accident which happened some Time after, in a House where I was; it is true, no Man was the Occasion, and Heaven alone was the Author; the Misfortune was caused by a Tempest, which began about Nine o'Clock at Night, by Lightning and Thunder, such as had scarcely ever been known before; and in two Hours Space, there de-

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descended such a Quantity of Rain, that it form'd several Torrents, broke down the Walls of the Town, and destroyed a great Number of Houses.

The Damage had not been so very considerable, but for the great Desolation it made in the Palace of Count *Donati*, in the *Pardo*, which was inhabited by the Duke of *Mirandola*, who, on his Birth-day, was regaling with a numerous Company, among which I made one; the Feast was celebrated in a magnificent proper Hall, where all the Company were placed; there were present, among a great many others, Prince *Pio*, Prince *de Cellamarre*, the Duke of *Liria*, Don *Tiberius Caraffa*, the *Venetian* Ambassador, and the Abbe *Grimaldo*.

The Torrent had broke down the outward and inward Wall of the Garden, and entered the Apartment we were in with such Impetuosity, that we were overwhelmed in an Instant; Prince *Pio*, by endeavouring to save himself, was first carried away by the Torrent, Don *Tiberius Caraffa* was likewise, by endeavouring to cling to a Coach; the Dutchess of *Mirandola*, who had got into the Chapel, with one of her Children, and a waiting Woman that followed her, were likewise drowned; every one believed that Moment to be the last of his Life: As there were a great Number of People, some of them were saved by the Height of the House; as for me, in this sorrowful Spectacle,

tacle, I was more moved at the Misfortune of others than my own, but nevertheless, not to yield myself to certain Death, I got up on a Window, where I was obliged to stay an Hour in a kneeling Posture; several of them followed my Example, and a little after, the Peasants who were nearest the Palace, run to our Assistance; the Domesticks were alarmed more for themselves than their Masters, for, on these Occasions every one is for himself.

One can scarce imagine what terrible Circumstances this Disaster was attended with, when we were informed of the Death of the Dutchess of *Mirandola*; that Princess was in the Flower of her Age; the Duke her Spouse was sensibly affected; nothing could be more moving than the Separation of two, who loved each other so tenderly, especially by so fatal a Catastrophe. After we were delivered, I went home, full of Horror at what I had seen.

But my Consternation was much greater, when I was informed next Morning of the unhappy Fate of Prince *Pio*, who was found three Leagues from the City, in a Fosse, whither he was drove by the Torrent; his Death added considerably to my Grief, for we respected each other much; he was a Grandee of *Spain*, of the first Class, Knight of the Golden Fleece, Grand Squire to the Princess of *Asturias*, Lieutenant-General of the King's Troops, and General of the Province of *Catalo-*

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talonia; besides, he was in the Chevalier's Party, so that being thus united by the strictest Ties of Amity, nothing could give me any Comfort, at such an unlucky Accident: Don *Tiberius Caraffa*, who would follow him, as I said before, to get to his Coach, but he was unluckily drove down the Current, and no one could give him any Succour: This unhappy Catastrophe was just after I recovered of my Wound, and you may imagine that it renewed my Pain.

Amidst all these Misfortunes, I received at the same Time the News of the Sentence of the Bishop of *Rochester*; that Prelate, with whom I had an entire Intimacy, was discovered in keeping a Correspondence with us, and was accused of forming a Conspiracy in *England*: Altho' his Letters had nothing in them that could any Ways countenance such an Accusation, yet as some of them were wrote in Cyphers, which they explained just as they pleased, and his Judges found him guilty of the Crimes they had alledged against him, he was detained in the Tower a long Time for that Affair, and being sentenc'd, tho' on Conjectures, was lost entirely.

The Commons for that called a grand Committee, to consider of his Punishment, and after several Debates, it was agreed, *That he should be deposed, and deprived of all his Ecclesiastical Charges and Revenues; that he should be banished for ever, and be obliged to depart*

238 *The LIFE of JAMES,*
depart Great Britain; and in Case he should
return, that it should be adjudged Felony.

This News afflicted me the more, because his first Rise to Honour was thro' my Means: His Enemies and mine, did not fail to represent, that he had formed a Design with me, to drive the King from the Throne, and set up the Pretender.

The Bishop was obliged, after this Sentence, to quit the Kingdom, to take his Effects, and retire to some Land, where the Fury of his Enemies could not reach him; he came to that End into *Spain*, where I received him with the most tender Friendship: That Prelate assured me what had pass'd in *England* was a Joy to him, as it gave him an Opportunity of seeing me, and partaking my Fortune.

The Duke of *Wharton* arrived some Time after, and found me at the *Escorial*, where I then was: This Visit I took as a Proof of his favourable Intentions for the Chevalier, in Favour of whom, he afterwards declared that he abjured the *English* Government: We formed an Alliance, and our Party increased daily.

I laboured extremely in the Chevalier's Service, to which Purpose I counselled him not to have his Son openly educated in the *Romish* Religion, for that it was quite improper in the present Conjunction: He knew the Importance of this Advice, and was resolved to follow it: when the Princess his
Spouse

Spouse was informed that he would give him a Protestant Governor, she opposed it strenuously; not so much from a Motive of Religion, as from a Motive of Jealousy which she had conceived at my Lady *Inverness*, for a Governess, which, upon all Hazards, she would make quit her House: This Refusal of the Princess made the Chevalier exert his Authority; but before he could bring her to Reason, she took a Resolution of retiring to a Convent, which she did soon after.

This Quarrel of the Chevalier and the Princess made a great Noise at *Rome*, and it was imagined, that as the Pope countenanced her, every one would join in her Party: In the mean time the Chevalier, who lov'd her intirely, sent to me for Advice what he should do; adding, that as this Separation was owing to me, he hoped I would not forsake him upon that Subject. After this he had an Audience of the Pope; his Holiness told him, that he would have him leave it to him to name a Governour for his Son, and that he had cast his Eyes upon an Ecclesiastick, very capable to give him a proper Education, and that he would never consent that he should be brought up in any but the Catholick Religion.

Various were the Speculations and Conjectures that were pass'd on this Affair; presently a Report was spread that *Spain* had abandoned us; and those that would otherwise have joined us, by those unlucky Suspicions, were

were kept back; others imagined, that the Princess's Retirement was a concerted Thing: And soon after, the Pope denied him Audience, notwithstanding the pressing Instances of several of the Cardinals.

These Things were very afflicting to the Chevalier, and even touch'd me sensibly: I was in *Spain* during all these Transactions, and I received another Letter from the Chevalier, in which he informed me, that he would permit the Holy Father to give a Governor to his Son, if he would please, and that he could take no other Method: But I was sensible this would not reconcile the Princess to him, since the Quarrel, as I observed before, arose not so much upon the Account of her Son, as from Jealousy.

The Chevalier was sensibly touched at this Behaviour of the Princess, and by the injurious Report which had been spread about, and urged to it by the Love he had for her, he resolved to write to her himself; as he had waited so long, and the Mediators would do nothing, he had several Suspicions that they were not in his Interest: One may form a Judgment from two Letters of his, which I have transcribed, that he omitted nothing that could any Ways make a Reconciliation between them, especially as she had such little Reason for doing as she did; he wrote to her afterwards, and made a Promise that my Lord, and his Spouse, the Lady *Inverness*, should quit the Palace.

The

The Chevalier's first Letter to the Princess Sobieski at the Convent of St. Cæcilia.

YOUR Conduct towards me, the Menaces which you have made use of to me, and the publick Outrage you have committed in retreating so abruptly to a Convent, has not moved me so much for myself, as the Misfortunes to which your Haughtiness had exposed you by this Behaviour; I am sensible still that I have no Resentment against you, and I would convince you this Moment that the Malice and Finesse of my Enemies have imposed on your Youth, and the Weakness of your Sex; you have known this long while, that I would be Master of my own Affairs and my Family; but if you did not 'tis not now too late to know it; return to your Reason once more, and your Duty towards yourself and me, and no longer give ear to underhand Suspicions; does not your Peace and Happiness entirely depend on me? but if in spite of all the Efforts of my Tenderness you persist in the Resolution you threatened me with, I shall still have this Consolation, that I have neglected nothing that could prevent it; of what can you complain my dear Clementine, but of the too much Tenderness I have for you? Will you recant your Errors? - - - I conjure you once more to think seriously of your Faith.

If the Princess was ill before, and violently disordered, what must she be at receiving so pressing a Letter, and which so fully discovered the reasonable Sentiments of her Spouse? but it was rendered of no Effect by the bad Intrigues of several that were about her; what Baseness must it be to endeavour to disjoin Persons whom they should sooner strive to reconcile! but such is the Malice of Mankind.

Though this Letter had not the desired Success, it was still more hard to receive an harsh Answer in return, for the good Temper with which his Letter was filled: He informed me, that he was moved to the last Degree, and could not imagine that the Princess, whom he had given no Occasion should behave in such a Manner; nevertheless preserving his natural Sweetness of Temper, he wrote to her a second Letter as follows:

The second Letter to the Princess at the Convent of St. Cæcilia.

I AM very sorry, Madam, that you force me to write on this Occasion, and though your Letter was not what I expected, yet nevertheless I received it with Pleasure; I thought I had fully explained my Sentiments to you; and I can scarcely believe that you are capable of using me with so little Respect as I am treated on that Subject.

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It is certain, Madam, I ever loved you, and desire nothing more than to make you Easy, as far as is consistent with my Honour and my Affairs; I know very well that we have endured together much Uneasiness; and I for my Part could have bore them with Patience, had it not been for the sudden Starts of your Temper which too readily gives way to any little Complaints and Insinuations; and by being offended at almost every one that was with me; but do not think that I can longer suffer your Affronts, which I have done for two Tears past, and without your regarding either my Words or Actions.

I hoped that you would make Reflection, that you alone have possessed my Affection without a Rivalship; and though my Situation and Fortune would not permit me to do as I would, yet I neglected nothing that could contribute to your Satisfaction; where would you have me stop? Have you not been Mistress of all you could desire? have you not been permitted to write and receive Letters, and keep a Correspondence entire by yourselves? I know not what can have excited you to chuse a solitary Life, and retire where you are, I would if possible amuse you from it; but if you are fixt to it, I leave you full Liberty to follow your own Taste and Inclination, reserving to myself alone the Government of my Family and my Affairs.

I confess, Madam, I was astonished at the unjust and extravagant Idea you have entertained of my Lord and my Lady Inverness,

when lately there were no Persons of whom you were so fond; and I think myself obliged to declare, that my Lord Inverness had done you no ill Offices with me; but on the contrary made use of the Liberty which I gave him of speaking freely; to exhort me to Patience and good Temper, when he saw that I was not absolutely pleased with your Behaviour; and as to the Affair between his Countess and you, when all the World knows with what Zeal and Affection she has served you many Tears, and even to this Hour does not fail to pay you all Respect, not only as due to yourself but to me.

You can't forget that my Lord Inverness, in the three Tears that he has been with me has studied every Thing for my Good; my Lord I am sure was incapable of advising you to any Thing wrong, and has too much Greatness of Soul to be hurt by any malicious Tongues, who speak through Choler more than Reason.

In this Station I was equally surprized and offended, to hear you had threatened to go to a Convent, if I had not chose a Minister able, faithful, and industrious; nay though I might have resolved before to put another in his Place, yet then my Honour was engaged to continue him; but without recourse to other Motives than my present Circumstances, I can't displace him without ruining my Interest, and putting my Affairs in the utmost Confusion; in the mean time, afflicted as I am continually with your unjust Anger, my Enemies take Advantage of me.

You

You see, Madam, the Trouble you have given me, and what honest Man will continue to serve me after the Reports you have spread abroad; and you can't be astonish'd, if I express my Resentment, by the little Respect I shall shew you hereafter, for the Injuries you have done me and mine by this unexpected Rupture; but if you will open your Heart without Reserve, and return to your Duty, I shall forget what has pass'd, and not fail to render you as happy and content as you can wish. As to your Son 'tis true I have order'd him a Governour, and which choice I can never recede from, and pursuant to which he shall be tutored in my own Chamber.

The Reason of this Order is chiefly to prevent his receiving any ill Impressions from the Domesticks, from whom Infants seldom receive any good, nor can I think that you will be offended or take this any way ill; but in a Matter of such Consequence would be glad to see him do well as much as me.

In regard to Mrs. Selden 'tis a long time since she alter'd her Behaviour to me, and as I am in no wise content with her Conduct, I have sufficient Reasons to remove her, and hope it will give you no Offence, though all the World can't chuse but remark the Disturbance which commenced, at my taking my Son out of their Hands, and from the Women, tho' you must needs imagine I would sooner trust those People whom I more particularly Esteem, and who
among

among other Things concluded our Treaty of Marriage.

I protest to you, Madam, I know no Reason you have to complain on this Head, and if I did would infallibly remedy it. I am persuaded if you would give yourself time to reflect, you would be Angry with yourself for what you have done, and be sensibly afflicted at the Tenderness of my Behaviour towards you; you would repent of what is passed, and not bring Things to the last Extremity, which unless you do, you will inevitably run yourself into the greatest Misfortunes, and which Conduct you will never be able to answer either to God or Man.

Consider, my dear Clementine, all I have said to you on this melancholy Occasion, and I conjure you to weigh the Matter with all profound and serious Reflection; think how glorious it will be to acknowledge your Error, and by correcting it how happy you will make yourself, don't resist these last Efforts of my Tenderness, I wait your Answer to put an End to this Affair.

The unhappy Chevalier was as much embarrassed with other Things; he bore the Disputes of his Domesticks with the utmost Patience; do you think that the Princess could refuse those instances of his Goodness with which this last Letter was full, and that she was quite insensible? - - She made him no Answer; but being prevailed upon by her false Friends went quite contrary to his Inclinations.

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The Queen of *France* when she came to know this, sent her a Letter with her own Hand, which Cardinal *Gualteri* would have remitted to her; but the Princess refused to receive the Cardinal, out of Resentment, because he had quitted her Party to embrace the Chevalier; the Letter which was remitted by another Person, contained an earnest Exhortation to her to rejoin her Spouse, and by that means endeavour to take away the Scandal which that Separation had given to Christianity. In brief, notwithstanding the Queen's Proceedings, the holy Father did not fail to take her Part, and that so openly that he refused to pay the Chevalier the last Quarter of his ordinary Pension.

I was informed of all the Circumstances of this Quarrel by the Duke of *B* - - my Nephew who was then at *Rome*; for tho' the Chevalier often wrote to me, yet he told me, only in the Gross imagining, that if he had sent the Substance of his second Letter to the Princess it would discourage his faithful Adherents, from serving him with that Ardour which otherwise they would have done; but he had nothing to fear in that Respect on my Side; for the more he was afflicted the more I respected him, which respect I testified on all Occasions; so that Misfortunes which seemed to be inseparable from his Affairs, did but increase my Ardour to serve him, though that Character is inconsistent with most Courtiers,

Courtiers, who prefer Vice upon a Throne to Virtue in Distress.

The Chevalier's Troubles made me renew my Instances for his Service at the Court of *Spain*, which I redoubled in the most pressing Manner. I had every Day several Audiences of their Catholick Majesties; and I did not doubt but in a short time I should be able to do it to the Purpose; during the time I was labouring with all my Power for his Service; he wrote to me, that he would come and join me, and by this last Attempt either perish or free himself from this deplorable State, by throwing himself upon those Powers who had promised him their Protection, and who had shewn the most Regard to him.

After he had taken this Resolution, he resolved to put it in Execution without ever considering whether the Circumstances were favourable or no; to this Effect he sent his two Sons to the Princess his Spouse in the Convent of *St. Cecilia*, whither he himself, in spite of all Opposition, was resolved to go and take his last Advice; and in short to avert the ill Counsels by which she had been deduced, and had refused to see him; he found Means however to bring over the Abbess of the Convent to his Design, who accordingly received him at the Door, and conducted him to the Princesses.

He found her in the Chamber between her two Sons, with Tears in their Eyes; when she perceived her Spouse, the Surprise immediately

diately made her change Colour; but having recovered herself a little, she flung herself at his Feet, and embraced his Knees, with the greatest Tenderness; at this Interview they remained together four Hours, after which the Chevalier retired, before which the Abbess, and several of the Religious accompanied him; and he receiving their Compliments recommended them to his Spouse; they all cried her up as a Saint, and declared they would sacrifice a thousand Lives in her Service; the Chevalier received their good Wishes, with the greatest Pleasure, but uttering a deep Sigh, said, *Why should the Princess seek Refuge in a Monastery?* Their Conference afterwards turned upon their Affairs, he would have had her quitted the Place and followed him; but notwithstanding the Love she could not forbear expressing, she utterly refused, unless my Lord and my Lady *Inverness* quitted the House.

Before his Departure he wrote her another Letter, exhorting her to change her Resolution, and that for particular Reasons his Honour would not let those Persons suffer; but that he would do any thing else to oblige her; all his Persuasions were in vain, for she would not remit the least of her former Pretensions. Seeing that he could do nothing to engage her, he left *Rome*, and went to *Bologne*, where he did not purpose to stay long, he sent to me soon after his Departure, and upon his Arrival at that Place, where I wrote him a

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Letter,

Letter, informing him of their Catholick Majesty's Resolutions upon the Situation of Affairs.

I found very plainly, that I should not only prevail upon that Court to serve him, but even to unite their Power to his, and assist him to the utmost.

The Recovery of *Gibraltar* and *Port Mahon* was the whole Ambition of the *Spaniards* Hearts, and made them more attached to his Cause; but they were of that Temper that nothing could bring them to favour him, but making it their Interest.

In Conclusion, the Court determined to follow my Scheme; they began to make Preparations with the utmost Vigour, and no longer dissembled the Usage with which they were resolved to treat them.

For which Reason, the *English*, that is to say, the reigning Party, began to perceive the Storm that threatned them, and did not fail to shew it, by a Declaration published at *London*, to exhort the Parliament and every Patriot in particular, to prevent their Ruin, discovering the most concealed Intrigues. *Europe*, said they, is in the greatest Agitation; *Great Britain* is equipping three large Fleets, and sending them with the greatest Expedition to different Parts, in order to support our Liberty and our Commerce; the Emperor and the King of *Spain* seem to join in testifying a Regard to each other; those two Princes are two powerful
Me-

Mediators, and enter into Treaties with the nicest Address: Those two Princes, replied I, have abandoned the Mediation, and entirely throwing themselves into the Arms of one another, have given reciprocal Marks of a cordial Affection, and by a firm Friendship, have conspired to ruin the Commerce and the Rights of other Nations, and by that Means have strengthened themselves for the great Blow they have designed.

Is it not more for the Interest of the King of *Spain*, said they, to be firm Master of his own Kingdom, and cultivate a Friendship with the *English* more than any other Nation, according to the old common Proverb of *Spain*, *Peace with England, and War with all the World besides?* Is not the King of *Spain* engaged to defend his Goods and Possessions by the most solemn Treaties? But all this Discourse could not prevent the Designs that were on Foot.

The Government of *England*, that is, even the whole Nation, were not content to cry out against *Spain* only, they likewise upbraided the Emperor. Is not this, said they, the very Emperor whom we have supported, and saved from the Hands of his Enemies? Is not this he, whom our Force, our Fleets and our Treasure have confirmed on the Throne of *Spain*, at a Time when the greatest Dangers invironed the Imperial House of *Vienna*? Is not this the Emperor, who owes the Preservation of his Imperial Dominions, nay,

even of his Imperial Crown, to the dangerous March of the Army of the Allies to *Flanders*, and what was the happy Consequences of that March?

These were the Complaints of that Government against them; and no doubt, but you must imagine, that the others made some Answer on their Parts: They blamed the *Englifs* for driving out the Chevalier; have not we, said they, supplied him with Money and Ships?

Spain, notwithstanding all they could say, did not discontinue their Preparations, but, on the contrary, continued firm in their Resolution: I took that Opportunity of letting the Court know the Injury that *France* was doing upon Account of the Infanta, and how much *England* was interested in that Affair; and I did not fail of applying these Things to the Chevalier's Advantage; nay, I push'd it so far, that notwithstanding the Disgrace of Cardinal *Alberoni*, yet I really imagined that what he had done, was only with a View to serve the Chevalier. To which I was answered, that he was a great Man, but had great Faults: Upon the whole, I persuaded a Minister, who was well inclined to our Party, to send a Fleet to *Sicily*, in order to go to *England*, to execute our Projects.

Flatter'd by these Views, I was charm'd by the Situation of our Affairs, which then seemed very advantageous: I wrote to that Purpose to the Chevalier then at *Boulogne*,
that

that he should come immediately to *Spain*, and that he should come by *Avignon*, where the Duke of *Wharton* was, and who, upon this News would join him: The Duke was to go to *Vienna* to that Court, to know if they would jointly with *Spain*, embrace the Party of the Chevalier, insinuating, as indeed was true, that the *English* were very desirous of him.

All Things being resolved upon, the Court of *Spain* sent an Army before *Gibraltar*, to undertake the Siege, and bring them over, if possible, in Favour of the Chevalier; the Persons who were well inclined to him, waited to hear how the Emperor and *France* were disposed, and for their open Declaration, and till the *Scots* Highlanders had taken up Arms on his Behalf; but the Emperor baulk'd the good Opinion they had of him, and according to the Example which the *French* had set him, remained in Tranquillity, and left *Spain* alone to undertake the Enterprize.

The Army which was before *Gibraltar*, continued the Siege, notwithstanding the Severities that they met with, but they were in no Ways capable of taking the Place, nor could all the Power of *Spain* effect it: In short, our Affairs were brought to a very low Condition, and all our Hopes vanish'd in Smoke, which would not have been, if the Court of *Vienna* had not abandoned our Party; tho' the Death of K. *George* happening about that Time,

Time, gave us once more an Opportunity of putting in Execution our grand Design.

I saw plainly, after we had lost so fair an Occasion, that I had got nothing to hope from Foreigners to establish the Chevalier, and that I had no other Hopes than trusting to the *English* themselves, and that in the same Manner as they did to King *Charles*, after the Death of *Oliver Cromwell*.

The Chevalier was inform'd at *Avignon* of all the Attempts in his Favour; he received the News in a Manner truly heroick, tho' he was abandoned by all the World: Notwithstanding which, they would not let him be quiet at *Avignon*; *France* and *England* drove him out of that Village, tho' it was in the Pope's Territories, and tho' only *Rome* had a Right, they obliged him to depart, and seek an Asylum more remote: By these Proscriptions he was forced to withdraw, and ruined entirely: He at last got Permission to return to *Rome*, where he was received by his Holiness with some Regard, but far different from those he had shewed before.

For me, I was so mortified at the ill Success of my Negotiations, that I determined to renounce all Pleasure; the Court grew insupportable to me, and I only wanted a plausible Pretence to quit it, and end my Days quietly in some Corner of the World, where the Malice of my Enemies could not penetrate; and thus weakened by continual Attendance,

tendance, and finding Age advance upon me, I took up a Resolve, which I put in Execution some little Time afterwards.

I was a long Time in Suspence where I should fix my Retreat: I was not of a Humour so thoughtful, as to inter myself alive; in the End, I determined to go to *Avignon*, and to finish my Days in Peace, especially as no favourable Opportunity occur'd of my returning to *England* my antient State.

Avignon is a Town situate in a Plain, the Air and Soil are as pleasant as any whatever; the River *Rhone*, which is its Fence, renders it mercantile; but its Commerce is ruin'd by the heavy Impost that are laid on all Kind of Merchandizes: *France* tyrannizes over it daily, and strangely diminishes its Wealth, by constant Vexations; notwithstanding which, it is full of Persons of Condition, Nobility, and the Gentry of the Place are mostly rich.

The Regard and Consideration which the People of that Place had for me, and in general, for all belonging to the Chevalier, made me think I could not chuse a more proper Retreat; besides, the Pleasures which I had formerly tasted there, determined me to fix upon it: After I had thus resolved to go, I only waited an Opportunity to take Leave of the Court of *Madrid*, and those Friends I had there; I communicated my Resolution to some of my Intimates, who did all that was possible to dissuade me from it; but seeing that

that all their Endeavours availed nothing, they had Recourse to the King and Queen, and did all they could to prevail upon their Majesties to endeavour to detain me in *Spain*; it was just before my Departure, and I was preparing to take my Leave of their Majesties, when the King sent me Word that he would speak with me, and desired me to come to *Bueno Retiro*, where he then held his Court; I obey'd nevertheless, and went to Court to know his Majesty's Intentions.

The King, at my Arrival, had me introduced into his Cabinet, where I found him with the Queen, and after saluting me, he asked if it was true that I had a Design of quitting his Court, as he had been informed; I answered him, that it was true I had such a Design; but that I should never put it in Execution without his Majesty's Order and Consent; then the Queen began to speak, and said to me, You see with what Zeal we have every Day supported your Interests, it is not owing to us that the Chevalier did not obtain the Throne he desired; but unlucky for him that our seconding him did not succeed; we wish with all our Hearts that you could return to your Country, and share again those Honours which you so justly deserve. You are a Judge, my Lord, of our Intentions, by several Things in which we have attempted to serve you, and it is with the utmost Regret that we see they have had no better Effect; we shall always be attached

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to your Interest, and shall at any time be ready to shew it; in brief notwithstanding the unhappy Events that have attended all our Enterprizes, yet we promise you, whenever an Occasion shall offer, we shall be ready to give you all Marks of our Affection and sincere Esteem. I was addressing myself to return their Majesties Thanks in the most grateful Manner I could, when the Queen continued thus; as for you, my Lord, I hope you can no Ways complain of the Regard which has been shewn you in our Court, you have been treated with all Distinction due to your Quality; and the Duke of *Ormond*, has had no less Respect paid him in *Spain*, than he had in *England*, when the Idol of his Country; the King has given you the same Quality, and the same Revenues you had before; consider then, my Lord! Would you quit this very Court and this *Spain*, that have been so indulgent to you.

This Discourse of her Majesty very much surprized me, especially as it seem'd that I had committed a Crime in wanting to go to pass my Days in a quiet Retreat. I answer'd her, that I was extremely sensible of the Benefits they had bestow'd upon me, and that I very well perceived that their Majesties were entirely in the Chevalier's Interest, which no other Power had openly espoused; and that if that Prince was unfortunate, it could be attributed to nothing but Fate, and a Number of feign'd Friends. I then desired their Ma-

jesties not to abandon his Cause, but gloriously to assist him, and once more raise him to the Glory he had been in; as to my own Part, continued I, I have not terms to express the grateful Sense I have of the Favours your Majesties have conferr'd on me.

And after all these Benefits, I only beg that I may be permitted to retire to some remote Corner of the World, where I might be at Leisure to deplore the Folly in which my Country was plung'd, the Misfortunes of the Chevalier and my own.

Their Majesties seem'd to be very much moved at my Discourse, and the Queen perceiving I was fixt in my Resolution, told me that she felt the utmost Repugnance in agreeing with my Demand, but as it was for my Ease and Happiness, she would consent tho' with Regret; Again, added she, if you have chose that Retreat in our Kingdom, I'll take care every thing shall be to your Satisfaction.

I was going before, as I said, to take my Leave of their Majesties; but was prevented by this further Demand, (she had a Spirit that penetrated every thing) she told me, she hoped that I would make some more serious Reflections; and she flatter'd herself, that in a little Time, I should come and assure her that I had changed my Resolution; she concluded by telling me, that she would give me three Months to consider, that before I went I might make a thorough Reflection.

Three

Three Months were elaps'd, and I found myself still firm to my first Resolution, and accordingly, I went to take my Leave of their Majesties; the King was sorry at my approaching Departure, but the Queen much more so, that Princess omitted nothing that she thought would detain me, and I was so moved with her Perswasions, that I had much ado to resist; I continued firm nevertheless, and after a long Conversation, in which their Majesties shew'd all the Goodness imaginable, they at last gave consent for my Departure; and I was not long in getting ready, after I had received the Visits and Compliments of all the Lords of the Court, who were all very much concerned for my Departure.

I could not then help observing, the Caprices of Fortune, a Place to which I had carried War in all its Horrors, and a Court whom I had never had it in my Power to oblige, would not suffer me to depart, although my own Country, whom I had serv'd at the Hazard of my Life, barbarously condemn'd me to a Death which I could not have avoided but by Flight.

After having prepared all things necessary for my Departure, I took my Rout to *Avignon*, after having staid some time at *Rome*; the Nobility of that Town being apprized of my coming, came in a Party to meet me, and conducted me to the *Hotel de Ville Franche*, where the Chevalier had his Residence the last Time he came to that Place,

they procured me every thing agreeable ; but what formerly delighted me, I still found the Pleasures renew'd, which I formerly shar'd with the Marchioness V---, which tho' every one would think, should by so long Absence have been diminish'd, yet I found them fierce as ever.

All the Persons of Fashion in the Place came to pay me a Visit ; both Ladies as well as Gentlemen ; several of whom I could not again behold without speaking of the Lady V--- Impatient to know the Cause of her Absence, I ask'd the Reason of her not being there ; when they told me that she was retired from the World, and lived in the Country, some few Leagues from Town, as an Anchorite, and that she had entirely renounced all Commerce with the World.

This News was very disagreeable to me, but as she must needs be past an Age of Pleasure, I comforted myself, especially as I had cast my Eyes on another Lady, who seem'd to promise to give me some Consolation for the Loss of my dear Mistress.

The Manner I began to live in at *Avignon*, drew all the World to me, and rendered all the other Assemblies desert ; I had every Day served up at my Table a Dozen Covers, which was not usual for any House in the Village before, except the Vice Legat ; the Ladies did me the Honour to grace me alternately with their Presence, after Dinner they usually spent some Time with me, and with that

Affability

Affability and Freedom of Temper as naturally made my House the Rendezvous of Love and Pleasure. Among all the Ladies that daily frequented my Palace, there was one that entirely claimed my Attention, she had shewn her Love to me when very young.

And when the Chevalier was at *Avignon* before, she was fonder of me than all the *English* Lords; she was not then above six or seven Years old, and yet shew'd an Affection for me, even at that tender Age she would then come to me, calling me her dear Papa; In brief she then seem'd to feel the Love she afterwards shew'd me, I found that Love perfect at my Arrival, and could not avoid tasting the Pleasures thereof.

Madam *de Va* - - - for that is the Name of the Lady I am speaking of, appeared in a Disposition intirely attached to me, she did not fail to hear my Prayers and Sighs, those Forerunners of Love, and to crown my Passion, by granting me in a little Time the Pleasures which we tasted together, and which made me forget those that I had received from the Marchioness *de V* - - and the Politeness of the other Ladies, they soon perceived the preference which I gave to the Marchioness *de Va* - - I gave them a good deal of Jealousy, notwithstanding my Age; and this they could not help shewing openly, by railing, and finding Fault continually with her I loved.

I was

I was afraid of this being discovered, but flattered myself that it would not, I entirely loved Madam *de V* - - and was sensible her Beauty was the Cause, and how could I avoid loving a young Lady, who without any Regard to my Age, did not scruple making me Master of her Charms; it is true, that, notwithstanding my Age, I expressed the greatest Vigour in my Looks and Air; nor did they shew more than I had, and the Lady, tho' married, was more agreeably entertained with me than her Husband.

All the Ladies at *Avignon* cast their Eyes on her; but there was none of them whose Charms were able to supplant hers, this may perhaps not seem credible, but it is true; and if you examine the Hearts of the Ladies ever so little, you will not find it strange; Jealousy offended their Vanity to see her preferred to a Number of them who were inferior to her in Beauty; and was not this a sufficient Motive to enrage them to see this Rival preferred to them? They could not satisfy their Anger better than by seeing her mortified in Love herself, by another Emotion; among several that declared openly against her was my Lady *I* - - - she was a young Lady of about Twenty four or Twenty five, I beheld with longing Eyes; in short she effaced all other Images in my Heart; she had so much Sweetness in her Temper, and her Conversation was so agreeable, and yet

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yet void of all Coquetry, that I could not chuse but admire her.

So formidable a Rival alarmed my Lady V - - she found her Defeat was certain, in so much that she could not help telling me of it when we were alone *Tete a Tete*; and could not disguise her Fears, demanding of me, and redoubling her wonted Caresses, if I still really loved her; adding, that I could not imagine her Pain, when she beheld me swallowing with greedy Eyes the Charms of another, which were formed for her Destruction. Ah! my dear Pappa, continued she, can you prefer such a Rival to me? Can she Love you like me, my Lord? You have no Reason to fear, replied I, Madam, the Love I have already shewn to you, and the Return you have made me, takes away all Reason that you may have to imagine any Change; I don't know what I might do at another Time; but you can't imagine that my Age will now suffer me to be so full of Levity? nor can I ever have any other Object of Pleasure.

If so, my Lord, permit me to confound the Triumphs of my Enemies; if you leave it to my Disposal I shall not abuse my Power, and I will endeavour at the same Time to avoid every Thing that may any Ways embarrass you; my Desires and Actions shall be so honourable, that you shall find no room to blame me; you know very well, my Lord, that it is my Interest to make this Demand, and I shall judge by your granting me this Request,

Request, the Greatness of your Love for me. But, Madam, replied I, (for it was not proper for me to make an absolute Refusal of her Request) how shall I appear to the World by this? Shall I not be exposed to the Satire of all Makebates and Slanderers, if we make this Conversation so publick? Ah! what is it you say my Lord, said she, my Love is not to be put off with such weak Reasons, and my Satisfaction should be preferable to them; don't you think that your Tenderness for me will confound my Rivals, and render me happy? Why then will you delay to shew it?

At last being moved by her Instigations, I granted her all her Desires; and she made no Delay to put her Power in Execution, she proposed herself to suppress my Table; but I told her that I reserved that Article, and expected that she would not make it worth the Liberty that I had given her, to make me suspect those Faults that I never was guilty of, in respect to my quitting the Generosity that I always had chiefly in Esteem; but instead of this Alteration she made a Thousand others, to shew to what purpose she had taken the Government over me; making little Alteration of Consequence, I agreed to please her to let this Fancy pass.

At this News, taking notice of her Superiority, her Rivals conspire against her to displace her in my Esteem. Madam I - - more genteel than all the rest, gave some
good

good Incitements to ruin her according to her Expectations, but she did it privately, and seem'd to carry it off without the least Emotion. She then appear'd at the Assembly (I laugh'd to see that she cajol'd my Age) a little Creature, full of Life and Coquetry; but there lay all her Merit, for Nature had been so covetous for her, that she did not believe she had given me the least Temptation: Nevertheless, she employed all her Talents, to try me, soft Discourse, and Railery. 'Tis so far true, that Love itself is an agreeable Flattery, but yet requires some lively Conversation, to set the beloved Object upon a Paralell with the greatest Beauties. Madam *de Pr* - - that is the Name of this last, seeing that she had to no Purpose attempted the Disquietude of her Charms, appeas'd her Rage in the Arms of Young *De Gu* - - who was not in the least disgusted at the Happiness I received in the Enjoyment thereof.

I never saw a Town where Intrigues were more in Vogue than at *Avignon*; the Nobility have no other Occupation than that of Love; every one there has his Mate, without which the Husband would be uneasy upon Account of their Gallantry: For Madam *V* - - when she was married, caus'd as little Uneasiness to her Husband, as she ever had from him. Her dear Spouse betook himself to the Delights of the Country, with as much Pleasure, during that Time, as I had with the Lady his Wife.

She began in the mean time to gain a greater Managment, over the Affairs I had intrusted her with, in respect to the Government of my House; She regulated my Domesticks, she reduced my Affairs by all publick Appearance, to an Integrity irreproachable; and being willing entirely to fix 'em in a Situation, never to be supplanted by any of her Rivals, she propos'd to me to change our Lodging; and told me at the same Time that Love had inspired her with that Thought, in order to be more secure in my Company. As the thing was quite indifferent to me, I told her that I would readily consent to any thing that could be of Advantage to our Amour; and accordingly she made me prepare a more convenient House, where we might Enjoy our Pleasures undisturb'd.

The Marquess *de Caumont*, in order to keep up my Resolution, came to offer me that of *Madam de Chigy* his beauteous Sister. I ask'd *Madam de V* -- if she approved of my taking that Lodging, to which she agreed; I knew very well what it was that made him make me that Offer, and his Complaisance, together with the Delights of Love would serve to divert my Care; but I did not imagine how soon my Mirth would be turn'd into Sorrow; *Monsieur de Villefranche*, with whom I then lodg'd, was apprised, that it was owing to the Periwasion of the Marquess of *Caumont*, that I quitted his House; and as there had been a Coldness between them for a long Time, this

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gave them an Opportunity of revenging their old Quarrels; to that end he went into the Country where he was, and wrote a Billet to the Marquess of *Caumont*, without signing it, desiring him to go a League from *Avignon*, into the Pope's Territories, where the Person who had wrote to him, would explain what he meant, which he had waited a long Time to do. By good luck the Porter, who carried the Billet, not finding the Marquess at home, and being but badly instructed in his Message, delivered it to the first Servant he met with, who carried it immediately to his Lady, in the Absence of the Marquess.

Madam *de Caumont* being happily very curious, was very uneasy to know the Contents, and was very much surprized at such a Message; for by the Obscurity of the Expressions, she imagined there was something more than ordinary at the Bottom of it; she was a Woman of prodigious Spirit, and loved her Husband mightily, and to prevent any Accident that might happen, sent immediately to tell the Vice Legate, the Design of Monsieur *de Villefranche*, and begging him if possible to prevent it.

The Vice Legate, as well to prevent any Mischief, as to shew his Authority, sent immediately two of his Guards to Monsieur *Villefranche*, to put a Stop to their Proceeding, but it was all in vain; when they came to the Place of Appointment, in being in the

Dominions of his Holiness; but it was not so with Monsieur *Caumont*, who was astonish'd at his Return to find himself arrested, without knowing the Reason, tho' his Spouse thought proper to send him word by a Gentleman, what was the Reason of his being detained; the Gentlemen of that Place are in great Repute for Bravery, tho' they don't so much distinguish themselves in Service in War, as in private Broils and the like. During this, the Marquess *de Caumont* shew'd a great Regret at his being detained, and wanted to give Satisfaction to the Marquess *de Villefranche*. He came immediately to inform me of this News; and I was look'd upon as the Cause of this, tho' innocent; nor could I any ways prevent it; the Marquess *de Villefranche*, waited in vain all the Time, and return'd the next Morning to *Avignon*, and I endeavour'd to make their Peace, as I was the Cause of their Rupture.

For which purpose I went to the Marquess of *Villefranche*, and made him understand that Reason must be very weak to carry a Man of Quality into such Extremes; the Vice Legate did the same; the Marquess would not shew any Body what he had wrote to Monsieur *Caumont*; alledging, that it was needless in regard to making Peace with them. To me alone he shew'd the whole; and told me, that he was urg'd to it by my being about to quit his House, than which nothing could affect him more sensibly: It was difficult for
me

me to undeceive him, that the Marquess of *Caumont* was not the Motive of that Affair, especially as I was going to live at his Sisters. But I assur'd him that he should lose none of my Friendship by that, for that what he had already done had convinced me of his Esteem for me.

Before I left him, I would make him promise that he should seek nothing further against the Marquess of *Caumont*: He gave me his Parole of Honour that he would not, and I desired them both to dine with me to make the Union firmer. My Lady *Caumont* gave me a thousand Thanks for reconciling her Husband and his Enemy: She was every Day in fear that some unlucky Accident would happen; for tho' their Courage might be equal, yet the Marquess *de Villefranche* had the Advantage over his Enemy; he was a lusty Man, well set, robust, yet nimble at the same Time; the Marquess *de Caumont* was a little Man, thick set, fat, and without any Manner of Agility, and this difference of Stature would have been greatly to his Disadvantage.

Madam *de V* -- was equally pleased that I had prevented the Mischief that might probably happen in this Affair; she shew'd her Satisfaction by redoubled Caresses, and the Pleasure she had in seeing her Rivals confounded, and having the whole Government of me, made her much more lively. Although I left her Mistress over me, and to do as she would

would, yet I opposed her whenever she attempted any thing I did not approve of; but I could not prevail, unless by retrenching some Expences which the Intendant thought would be to my Satisfaction; she complained of him, and I was obliged to remove him from his Charge; the Intendant being displaced, did not fail complaining against the Liberties the Marchioness took with me; this excited some of the People to rail against her, especially the Tradesmen, who had before found their Account in keeping in with the Intendant; but in the whole, when they saw they could not make much of it, they were easy.

I must needs say, I was look'd upon as the Tutelar Saint of the Place; the People of Condition had Recourse to me to reconcile all their Differences, and the Ladies likewise with their Husbands; and I found that my Decision made them all content.

To make the Town more agreeable, I contributed largely towards building a Place for Plays, which was reckon'd much the handsomest in *France*; this drew a great Number of the Country People thither, and we had the Comedy during six Months of the Year; sometimes to make Variety in our Pleasure, I made an Entertainment in the Country, where *Madam de V* - - - was in a beautiful Castle; which brought to my Remembrance the Loves of *Petrarch*, a Fountain of Chrystal Water embellish'd the Outworks, which pour'd out in such Abundance, that

that it spread itself, and fertilized a vast Plain; but tho' its Spring was so beautiful, it lost itself in the *Rhone*, five or six Leagues from its Source: I was not at all surprized that *Petrarch* preferr'd this Retirement to any other; it is true, it is more proper for Love than Philosophy. The Inhabitants of that Place have a particular Veneration, not as a Philosopher, but as a Saint; the beautiful *Laura* his Mistress, is no less respected by them; they call her Saint *Laura*: It is true the Philosopher did not love in vain, and tho' they had not the Bond of Marriage, yet they were not accountable to any for their Delights: What a hapy Taste had these Lovers!

I had forgot, that my Mistress, *a propos*, would have herself to be of the Family of this beautiful *Laura*: I readily gave Credit to the same, upon account of the Resemblance of their Taste, in delivering themselves up to the Pleasures of Love, in this solitary Place; we having found there the same Delights that attended these two illustrious Lovers: I could be of no less than of the Family of *Petrarch*; to make the Thing pleasant, I must consult some obliging Genealogist, to bring me related to this Poet.

However, I often renewed these Pleasures with Madam *de V----*, agreeable to this Retirement, and thought we had the only Right as we pleased ourselves, and was very little troubled about resembling the State of others:

others: This is the method I take to vary the Business of Life; I endeavour to make its End as sweet as the Beginning: And you may imagine, that by steering this Course, old Age will not be to me so insupportable.

Avignon, since I have retired here, is become the Reservoir of Sports and Love. About two or three Years since, two poor Lovers had Recourse to me, upon account of the Disesteem they were in with their Parents: Their Address affected me much, in such a Manner, that I could scarce disguise it.

I was one Morning in my Chamber with Madam *de V---* drinking Chocolate; we were speaking of a Marriage which had lately happened in that Place, and which had been made contrary to the Inclination of the young Woman, who would not willingly, by any Means, marry the Husband her Parents had allotted her, having a Lover whom she lik'd much better: I told Madam *de V---* that I had complained of the Usage the poor Girl had received; she likewise had complained, but it was too late for us to give her any Assistance, or to bring her Mother to Reason.

Whilst we were upon this Topick, one came to bring us News of Monsieur *de Salvadore*, who was the Lover of the Girl gone to be married: As I was curious to know what had occasioned this Accident, we gave Orders that he should be admitted; but it added to our Surprize, when we saw his Mi-

stress

strefs with him, dress'd like a Chambermaid, and her Eyes swell'd with Tears which she had shed.

Know, my Lord, said Monsieur *Salvadore* at his first Entrance, that you see here two Lovers whom Envy would have separated, but who prefer Death to such a severe Separation: He had scarce finished these Words, when his Mistress fell down in a Swoon by his Side: This increased his Affliction: We strove all that was possible to recover her, and being inform'd by her Chambermaid that it was the Cold which her Mistress had suffered, that had occasioned her fainting away, I gave Orders that they should prepare a Fire, which was done immediately; her Woman put her to Bed, and Madam de *V---* gave her all the Assistance she could: Monsieur *de Salvadore* was likewise very wet; I made a great Fire, and put him on other Cloaths.

We as yet knew nothing what was the meaning of this Object; neither of them were able to tell us, when the young Lady's Chambermaid came to acquaint us, that her Mistress was much better, and that she could never sufficiently acknowledge the Goodness we had shewn her.

We ask'd her if she could explain to us the meaning of what we had seen; she replied she was ordered to satisfy us, and began accordingly.

Some Time since Monsieur *St. Salvador* made Love to Mademoiselle *Villeneuve*, but privately, through Fear, lest the Mother of the young Lady, (the most unpolish'd and most peevish Woman that could be) should perceive it, and end it in a dreadful Catastrophe; he carried it thus secret from the Mother, in order to obtain her in Marriage; but all his Attempts were in vain, he was not equal to her in Condition, and the Avarice of the Mother would prevent it, and would not let her part with the Daughter's Fortune, of which she was Guardian since the Death of her Husband; and this alone was sufficient to hinder her from consenting to their Union.

The two Lovers, whom these Difficulties but more excited, resolved to overcome all Obstacles on the Mother's Side, and marry in Spite of her.

They kept a Correspondence by Letters, through the Assistance of some Friends, by which Means they prepared themselves to lay hold on the first favourable Opportunity to make themselves happy, in Spite of all the World: They had taken their Measures in such a manner, as to prevent all Difficulties, when another, who was in Love with my Lady, demanded her in Marriage of her Mother; he was a rich Heir, and this opened the Mother's Eyes, in Hopes that his Love would make him overlook the Daughter's

ter's Fortune: They came to a Conference, and in brief, the Mother contented with his Pretensions, made no Hesitation, but promised him her Daughter in Marriage.

This unexpected Blow put our two Lovers in a Fright; the Lady, who did not imagine she should be obliged to put the Resolution she had taken so soon in Execution, was quite in Despair, imagining that she could not escape the Chastisement of her enraged Mother; and the Marriage that she proposed, was the severest that could be. Monsieur *St. Salvador*, who was informed of it, fear'd that his Mistress could not resist the Instances of her Mother, and that she would be sacrificed to his Rival; he wrote several Letters to her, to desire her to avoid the Danger that threatned her, and to consent to give him the last Marks of her Love, by following him where she had promised him.

Mademoiselle *Villeneuve* was thoroughly disposed to second her Lover; the only Difficulty was how to find a proper Time, which would be very hard with such an *Argus* of a Mother as she had, especially as the Suitor, by the Mother's Approbation, continued his Pursuits; his seeming so assiduous, and hardly ever quitting her, was another Embarrassment: In short, the Mother, not willing to lose so fair an Opportunity for her Daughter, fix'd a Day for their Marriage: Tho' it was kept very secret, yet it came to

the Ears of Monsieur *St. Salvador*; he was quite in Despair and did not know what to do; he wrote, she answered him, but to no Purpose; the Morning fixt for the Ceremony, he attempted to get into the House by engaging the Porter, and by force of Silver, strove to make him consent that he and his Mistress should go out at Night. But the Brutal *Swiss* would not agree to it, he was forced to retire, and deliver himself up to grief that he could not get her from his Rival; imagining that she would without doubt consent to the Sacrifice.

I imagined what he would suffer that Night; the next Day he was so weak he was scarce able to get out of his Bed, he left it however, and prompted by his Grievs, resolv'd to surround the House all Day long.

Nevertheless his Mistress was not unfaithful, but complained as much as him; that very Night which her Love pass'd so disagreeably she pass'd in Tears; but in the End taking up a firm Resolution to escape the Danger that threatned her next Morning, she called me to her; we went and found out the Gardiner, and desired him to assist us by opening the Garden Gate, which led to the Canal; the Gardiner at length moved by my Mistress's Tears, and her Promises of what she would do for him, open'd the Garden Gate; but the Difficulty still was to pass the Canal; the Gardiner got ready to carry my Mistress over, he

he took some Boards and laid Cross, as he thought pretty sure; but as it was too weak to bear the Weight with which it was loaded, fell with its Charge into the Canal; they struggled a long Time, till her Girdle broke, by which he held her; when I quite frightened at the Disaster, cried loudly for somebody to come to her Assistance.

The Noise reached Monsieur *de Salvador*, who came time enough to save his faithful Mistress's Life; he ran to see what was the Matter, and came very luckily; he threw himself with the utmost Precipitation, into the Water, and delivered her first, and then the officious Gardiner; but good Heaven! how great was their mutual Joy? he put her into a Coach which waited hard by, and brought her to your Lordship, where he imagined she would be safe from her Followers; it was not long before I followed, and had the Pleasure of sharing her Misfortunes.

When Monsieur *de Salvador* had reposed himself a little, he came and pray'd me earnestly not to abandon him, at so pressing an Emergency; I promis'd to assist him to the utmost of my Power, and that no one should do him any Violence. Madam *de V---* found the Lady entirely recover'd, and join'd her Entreaties to her Lover's.

While this passed, Mademoiselle *de Villeneuve* heard it was spread over all the Town
that

that her intended future Spouse was gone to visit her; he had paid his Compliments to her Mother, who sent the Chambermaid to inform her Daughter that she should make no Delay, but hasten to accomplish her Designs; the Woman obeyed, but how great was her Astonishment, when upon entering the Chamber she found no Body there; she spread it all over the House, every Room was searched but all in vain, she could not find her any where: As she had often perceived with what Coolness *Madam de Villeneuve* had received her intended Spouse; she found after waiting some time what she had done; she immediately went and informed the Mother of this unhappy Accident; the Suitor was with her, expecting every Minute his Mistress to receive his Visit, and did not doubt but she had the same Affection as him.

You may imagine, at this News, how great was their Surprize, the Mother on one side, and the Gallant on the other, who was every Moment expecting his Happiness; the Mother at first thought it was an impossible Thing; she could not have imagined that her Daughter could have been capable of such an Attempt.

Her intended Spouse was stupified, and knew not what to say; in the End, after some Space of Time, they no longer doubted the Truth of what was said; the Mother advised the Lover to retire privately, and make

no

no Noise of this Adventure ; he obeyed her, though confused to march off so ridiculously ; the Mother immediately sent Persons into the Country, to try if they could hear any News of her Daughter ; one came to us and informed us of all that had passed ; but the Mother could hear nothing of her : Madam *de Va* - - would accompany Monsieur *de Salvador* to the Archbishop to obtain his Permission to be married ; that good Prelate never refused any Thing to the Ladies ; they sent one to let me know, and I sent the Lady by Night to avoid the Fury of her implacable Mother ; the tender Lovers were in such Raptures at the generous Succours which we had given them, that they could scarce find Words to express their Acknowledgments : After we had done this, Madam *de Villeneuve* was desirous of retiring to a Convent ; for she could not go with her Husband to his Father, because he knew nothing of what had passed, though if he had he could not but approve of it ; she would not stay longer with us fearing she should tire our Bounty, and seeing she was uneasy, we permitted her to go to a Convent, where I was to inform her Mother of what was done, and endeavour to bring her to Reason, by making her approve a Thing which could not be recalled.

Madam *de Va* - - accompanied her to the Convent, and recommended her to the Superior ; Monsieur *Salvador* staid with me till
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the Return of Madam *de Va* - - to go to his Spouse's Mother, but I thought it more convenient for him to wait, it being proper to avoid the first Emotion of an enraged Woman; I went to her, and found her in a vast Passion as I expected; I could not have believed, said she, my Lord, (quite stifled with Choler) that you could have been guilty of such a Violence, as to give Protection to a Daughter in flying from her Mother's House; this is Monsieur *Salvador's* Doing that Morning, for whom I will have no Grace or Pity: I will pursue him to Justice: I will consume all that I have, but I will have Reason done me for this horrible Attempt.

Appease your Anger, Madam, replied I, the Misfortune is not so great as you imagine; 'tis true that I have given an Asylum to your Daughter, and which I could not but do in the piteous Condition she was in; for I believe had it not been for our Assistance she had not lived an Hour; then Madam *de Va* - - began to speak, and told her in what sad State we found her Daughter, when the Chambermaid informed her that she was left in a Convent.

You see plainly, Madam, replied I, that there has been no Manner of Violence offer'd to your Daughter; well, in short then, said she, I'll tell you how I'll be even with her, if you'll attend to what I am going to say; All the Counsel you can take, replied I, is in
vain,

vain, for your Daughter is married, and the Marriage is not against her Inclination; at these Words she cried out, that she would never more acknowledge her for her Daughter, nor ever speak to her again, and that she would take Care she should never touch a Farthing of her Fortune. As I had staid an Hour and could not bring her to Reason, I would not press her any farther, she withdrew; however, Madam *de Va--* persuaded me that she would consent at last, and I on my Side sent to Monsieur *Salvador's* Father, in order to bring about an Interview, and to unite them together in Amity.

And in Effect, Madam *de V---* managed it so well before Madam *de Villeneuve*, that she could do what she pleased with her; she made her promise, that she would pardon her Daughter, and approve her Choice: She was so far resolv'd at last, to demand of him a considerable Portion, which he promised, to satisfy her Avarice with, well knowing that it would appear that her Father before his Death had entail'd that. Being contented with the Accommodation that he had made so advantageous, she agreed to an Interview with Messieurs *de Salvador*, the Father and Son, and to pardon her Daughter in their Presence: Thus I managed this Affair with Integrity, both as to one Side and the other; 'twas thus that I gave Satisfaction to these

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ardent Lovers, who have since expreſs'd their infinite Obligations to me upon that Account. The new Bride departed from the Convent, and has lived ever ſince with her Spouſe, in the utmoſt Unanimity.

I was willing to relate this little Hiſtory, to ſhew in what manner I behaved to gain the Love of every one: The Poor I proved a Father to, the Enemy a Counſellor, and the Unfortunate a Protector; in ſhort, it was my good Luck to be happy; ſuch always was my Character: But the Tranquillity in which I ſo much rejoiced, ſuffered me for the preſent to live entire to myſelf.

My Enemies did not in the leaſt make Heſitation to qualify me for a Papiſt, and would have brought my Country under the *Romiſh* Yoke: What can I ſay to ſuch Calumnies, unleſs they judge me by my manner of Life, thro' all which I have done nothing but what ſhews me to be a good Proteſtant: The Zeal which I ſhew'd for my Religion in my Youth, continued to the laſt; I never contradicted my Sentiments; and if any Body endeavoured to blacken me, the Shame always fell upon themſelves, for nothing is more true, than that thro' my whole Life I endeavoured to appear juſt as I was; and I believe I may ſay there never was a better Proteſtant, for I was always found ſo in the miſt of the Catholick Religion, nay, even in *Rome* itſelf, where

where I saw plainly how they abused Religion, by imposing on ignorant People.

It would seem odd, that in so long a Space of Time, since my Departure from *England* to the present Time, that I should not forget my Friends and Relations; but no Opportunity was more dear to me, than when I could shew my Regard to them; the Death of my Wife, which happened about this Time, was the greatest Affliction I had met with; we had ever the most cordial Love for each other, and tho' she was convinced of some little Follies I had been guilty of, yet she never thought the worse of me; but my real Friends (of which I may say without Vanity I had a great Number) those who were always sincerely attach'd to me, and who thought me not unworthy of their Friendship, as they shew'd, by recommending their Sons to me in their Travels, they not only shew'd their Friendship in Favours which I openly received, but in what they did privately.

It was since I was at *Avignon*, that I was informed of the Death of my Spouse: I was quite inconsolable; all the Nobility came to visit me, to shew the Part they bore in my Affliction, and Madam de V---- likewise, which did not a little contribute to make me more easy; I will give you a Portrait of that Lady, to shew how amiable she is, and how

worthy of the Affection which I had for her: She was a Person of about thirty, or five and thirty Years; her Shape was fine and well made; she was of a clear brown Complexion; her Eyes were very beautiful; her Features were as exact as could be form'd, tho' a little pitted with the Small Pox; she had something in her Physiognomy that express'd the natural Sweetness of her Temper, tho' at the same Time it inspir'd her with a certain Air of Superiority, which seem'd to approach too near Pride; her Courage was good, but too much inclined to Revenge, tho' more thro' Vanity than Malice: Join to these a perfect Disinterestedness; and this is the Character of her who had engaged my Heart, and with whom I seem'd to be destin'd to end my Course: She was of an antient Family, as I said before, nor was it a Pretence; she was of the Family of the illustrious *Laura*, so well known by the Praises of her Lover *Petrarch*, who sang them so delightfully.

She lived a long Time separate from her Husband, by a voluntary Agreement; he loved nothing but the Country, nor would suffer her: So that he followed his Inclination, and lived according to his Fancy; if the Husband came to Town, he lodg'd with his Wife, if she went into the Country she was received by her Husband; but as to Love, they were perpetually at War with each other,

other, and their Manner of living together, seemed to the World as a Sort of a Divorce.

Her Husband was very well acquainted in what Manner I liv'd with his Wife, without being in the least disturb'd at it: We went several Times to pay him a Visit to the Country; he received us very civilly, and I spent the Night with his Spouse, while he was very well contented that I had rid him of the Trouble; a sudden Illness carried him off some Months after; but several People imagined, that it was owing to the Grief of seeing his Wife live in such a Manner.

Several scandalous Aspersions were cast out to blacken the Character of Madam *de V---*, on Account of his Death, both by the Suddenness in which it happened, and the Affection which I had for that Lady: It was a current Report in that Place, that her Vanity would make her capable of committing any such Action, supposing that then nothing could hinder her being Dutcheſs of *Ormond*; but what Appearance was there of that? Madam *de V---* could not have any Thought of such an Alliance: She had nothing to dread from the Side of her Husband, that could any Ways embarrass her Actions; then what Likelihood could there ever be of her being my Spouse; we lived in a *Roman* Catholick Place, where they would assuredly never administer the Sacrament to a Protestant; and

I assure you, that neither upon that Account, or any other, I would abjure my Religion; especially as I thought it good, I should scarce change it for one I thought worse.

Besides, how great would have been her Error and mine; we now lov'd without any Obligation, only for the Pleasure which mutual Passion gave us: I was in this of the same Opinion of *Petrarch*, and *Madam de V---* endeavoured to follow the Maxims of *Laura*, an Imitation of whom she shewed in the chief of her Conduct: These Reflections might serve to open the Eyes of all who judge rightly of Things.

Therefore it was well known that we continued to live in an entire Freedom together, notwithstanding all that was said on our Account; and I was so contented with my Retreat, that it did not a little contribute to make me forget my ancient Prosperity, to give myself wholly up to the Pleasures of a quiet Life, and waited my Death, which I only looked on as a Retirement from the World.

I always kept a Correspondence with the Chevalier, he was now content and happy, and had two Sons who were the Hopes of his Family; he assured me that he was grown so Tranquill, that he should not glory so much in inheriting a Crown, as in possessing to the utmost Degree the Royal Vertues, the more
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worthy Appurtenances of Royalty; my Happiness would have been perfect, if he had been more successful, and to which I would have contributed with my dearest Blood.

I endeavoured on all Occasions to testify my Attachment to him; but thro' his whole Life he seemed to be born under the Influence of some fatal Star which presided at his Birth; he was obliged to leave the Place of his Nativity, *France* with open Arms received him, and promised never to abandon him; but alas how empty are the promises of Kings? Queen *Anne* was inspired with more favourable Sentiments for him; but her hasty Death made all his Hopes vanish, and quite ruined all our Designs.

Those who were any ways attach'd to his Interest, were used as Traitors to their Country; in fine the Death of *Lewis XIV.* his Protector, did not seem to leave him any hopes, but entirely gave him up to Misfortunes, he was obliged to quit the Court of *France*, and go to seek an Asylum elsewhere; he did not know whither to fly; he had recourse to the Pope, who like a Father held out his Arms to receive him, almost overwhelm'd in Misfortunes; I made all the Efforts I could to get him to a Throne; I went into the North to sollicite a powerful Alliance; but there my Designs was cross'd; yet notwithstanding all these Disappointments we
met

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met with, I form'd such a Tempest, as seem'd as if it would inevitably confound his Enemies; I got *Spain*, the Emperor, and almost all the North into his Interest; nothing could be a fairer Prospect for us, when *France*, whom we never could have imagined to be our Enemy, and who had promis'd to give us Succours, enter'd into a League against us, and assisted even our very Enemies. After all these Changes and Misfortunes, he was obliged to have recourse again to the See of *Rome*; which had also abandon'd him. You see an Abstract of the Misfortunes of this Prince; I sha'n't take notice of his Family Troubles, tho' they were sufficient Afflictions, as one may judge by the Impression it has left in our Memories

As for me, my Commencement was no more Happy than his, but I had good Fortune sometimes to allay my Grievs: At one Time to see myself almost at the Head of the Kingdom, and a little after likely to lose my own Head, if I had not prevented by a sudden Flight, so shameful a Death; I had Recourse to *France*, where I had formerly serv'd my Country; an able Minister, in concert with his Master seem'd to favour me, till Death seized the latter, and Fortune less kind than he deserv'd, abandon'd the former. I went to *Rome*; where I had many Promises of being assisted in my Enterprizes, and Projects

jects in Favour of the Chevalier. I made many Efforts to engage the Catholick Powers, but all were too weak, and they still put me off with Promises, and political Monkeries.

Clement II. then sat in the Pontifical Chair, that Pope was ready to serve us, and free with his Coffers, a rare Action in a Pontiff, since Avarice is the first Motive from which they act; and I must say that he was not only kind to us but to all our Adherents; 'tis true, that during the Space of Time in which he held the Holy See, we made use of much of his Treasure.

I was willing to join to these Succours, others that might be of more use, to that Purpose I left *Rome*, and went to the Czar, whom I endeavoured to make forget the Divisions he had had with the King of *Sweden*, and to engage him to unite his Forces with the Chevalier.

The Czar seemed to accept my Proposition with a good Will, and seemed inclineable to favour us; accordingly I proposed a Marriage between one of his Daughters and the Chevalier; this was a fatal Point, my Affair became publick, and I was not safe in the Place; therefore I retired, yet left an Agent to supply my Place.

The Czar *Peter I.* was a robust Man, and would not readily come into any Thing;
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nevertheless he would have favoured my Designs, if the Death of the King of *Sweden* had not been an Obstacle; all the World knows his Character, and had it not been for his sudden Death, he designed to place the Chevalier on the Throne of *England*; he was hardy, enterprising, and without any Notion of Danger, he would undertake and execute at the same time, as he did in favour of King *Stanislaus*; 'twas these Events that were the Occasion of the Chevalier's Misfortunes and mine: *Spain* seemed to be in a good Disposition towards us; I went to that Court, where I managed the Intrigues I have before related; Cardinal *Alberoni* then governed the Reins of the State; he was a Minister more capable to form than execute; he flattered me and promised great Things, but never undertook them.

In the last *Catalonian* War, *France* joined against *Spain*, at a time when they should have given them all the Succours they could; in short it was so unlucky to us, that they forced *Spain* to accept a Peace, which she would otherwise have refused.

We once more found our Efforts useless; the Duke of *Wharton* came to join me, we consulted on a new Enterprize; he went to *Flanders* to bring it to bear, it was to reunite *Spain* and the House of *Austria*, it seemed to take, and the Union appeared almost effect-

ed;

ed ; the Emperor and the King of *Spain* promised to embrace our Interests ; we pressed them very much ; *Spain* always seemed ready to undertake any thing for us, not only as it was their particular Interest, but as much out of Generosity to us ; I believe between one and the other she declared War against *England*, and began with the Siege of *Gibraltar*, but was constrained to leave the Place without doing any good.

The End of my Life approaching, and no Hopes of Undertaking any new Enterprises, I retired to *Avignon*, where spite of all Misfortunes or Changes, I still preserve an easy Mind, and a Heart proof against Unhappiness.

'Tis in this Retreat I wait patiently the End of my Course, enjoying my Pleasure in perfect Quietude, which nothing worldly can disturb : Titles and Honours to me are insensible Objects ; all my Desire is repose. I love without Jealousy, and without any thing to embitter the Sweets of Love ; I spend my Fortune more for others Use than my own ; and as I endeavour like a Father, to be beloved by the whole Place, so they all esteem me in that Quality.

I wrote these Memoirs to inform Posterity of my Conduct and my Misfortunes, that if (as I think) I have not deserved it ; the Sons of my cotemporary Countrymen, may forget their Father's Usage, and be no longer my

Enemies; and that the Men of War and Fortune may find with me, how far preferable the Pleasures of a retired Life are, to all the Honours of haughty Prosperity.

O! if ambitious Men could truly Taste this, they would despise all Thrones, all Kingdoms, and Estates; these are the Sentiments every one ought to have, and which are mine in particular; and I shall be happy if my Example be of any use to those who may be in the like Condition.

I have done all I intend to the End of my Course, except to pray Heaven to protect my Country, and open the Eyes of my Countrymen; and I shall be happy how soon soever I end my Life: If the supreme Being of Beings, will cast a favourable Regard on me, and after Death receive my Spirit into his Bosom of eternal Felicity.

Thus far we have collected from his Grace's own Memoirs; his Life is replete with so many Vicissitudes of Fortune and Ambition, Love and War, have alternately employed his Hours, that it naturally makes every Englishman inquisitive into the most minute Particulars of the Life of so great a Man: every Incident furnishes fresh Matter for Admiration, and especially to a Nation where he once made a great Figure, and might

might even be styled the Darling of the People; his going to *Spain* to seek Refuge, even after having beaten their Troops, is hardly more unaccountable, than the Report that is now spread Abroad of his being recalled Home; his royal Mistress was particularly in his Interest; but a prevailing Party at that Time, threw him down from the utmost Height of Grandeur, to the lowest Depth of Misery and Misfortune, to wander about a Stranger to his native Country, and even ill treated by those very People who were before his Friends.

The Share the Duke of *Ormond* had in the Campaign of 1712, has been so far misrepresented by many groundless Reports, and some printed Accounts, that it was thought proper to give the World a plain and naked View of it, in the following Relation, which is collected from authentick Papers and Reports: And which contain little more than a Journal of the Matters of Fact, drawn from the Letters and Dispatches, which were writ or received by the Duke on that Occasion; and expressed generally in the very Terms of those Letters and Dispatches. In drawing up of this Relation we are conscious, that we have not omitted any one Passage, or even Expression, material to the Discovery of the whole

whole Truth. And the Reader therefore, who has now all the Particulars, before him, will be able to judge, whether the Duke's Conduct deserves to be blamed by any good Subject, or good Englishman.

The Duke of *Ormond* being appointed to command her Majesty's Forces in *Flanders*, received Instructions for that Service of the following Tenor.

A N N E R.

Instructions for our Right Trusty and Right Entirely Beloved Cousin and Counsellor, James, Duke of Ormond, Captain General, and Commander in Chief of our Forces, acting in Conjunction with those of our Allies in the Low Countries.

YOU are with all possible Diligence to repair to the *Hague*, and to acquaint the Pensionary, that, having

having appointed you to command our Army in the *Netherlands*, we have given you Orders to see him, before you go to put yourself at the Head of the Troops. You are to express to him the Resolution we are in of pushing the War with all possible Vigour, until the Enemy shall agree to such Terms of Peace, as may be safe and honourable for us, and for our Allies.

You are farther to say to this Minister, that you are prepared to live in a perfect and good Correspondence with all the Generals of the Allies, and particularly with those of the States; and that you hope, you shall find the same Inclination on their Part, to which his (the Pensionary's) good Offices will extremely contribute.

You are, after this Introduction, to desire the Pensionary to inform you, what Plan has been agreed upon for the Operations of the Campaign.

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As soon as you arrive at the Frontier, you are to meet with the Prince *Eugene*, and such others of the Generals, as shall be in the Secret, and with them to concert the proper Measures for entering on Action.

You are to take the first, and every Opportunity, of reviewing all such Regiments, as are paid, either in the Whole or in Part, by us, and to certify to us the Numbers, and Condition of the several Regiments of Horse, Foot, and Dragoons.

You are likewise, from time to time, to correspond with one of our Principal Secretaries of State, and to transmit constant Accounts of your Proceedings, and of all Occurrences which may happen.

*Given at our Court at St. James's, the
Seventh Day of April 1712. In
the Eleventh Year of our Reign.*

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These being the only Directions then given him for regulating his Conduct, the Duke left *London*, *April* the 9th, under a full Resolution of pushing on the War with all possible Vigour; and arriv'd at the *Hague*, *Apr.* 23. N. S. where he made a Visit to the Pensionary, and discours'd with him in the Manner his Instructions requir'd. When the Duke desir'd to know, *What Plan had been agreed upon for the Operations of the Campagne*: The Pensionary answered, *That there was no particular Project form'd, but that the Measures for opening the Campagne were left to be adjusted by their Generals and Deputies, who could best judge what was fit to be done, when they were in the Field*; and this was all that Minister would say on the Head.

On the 28th the Duke had a Conference with the Deputies of the States, in order to be inform'd of their Resolutions taken with Prince *Eugene*, who some Days before the Duke's Arrival, had left the *Hague*, and was gone to *Tournay*. They shew'd themselves extremely well satisfy'd with the Declarations made from the Queen by the Duke, and desirous that he would take the first Opportunity of putting himself at the Head of the Army; but refer'd him, as the Pensionary had done, to their Field-Deputies and Generals, who, they said, were intrusted with the Conduct of the War, and should be order'd to concert every Thing with his Grace, in
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like manner as they had before been directed to take their Measures in Concert with the Prince, for the good of the Common Cause. The President of the Week made many Excuses for their having given the Command of their Army to that Prince; but however he said, *As to the Point of Command, his Grace and the Prince were now on an equal Foot.*

About this time the Duke receiv'd a Letter from Mr. Cadogan, who had been left out of the Establishment of *Lieutenant-Generals*, desiring with great Earnestness his Grace's Interest for his being employ'd under him this Campagne: The Duke, being very willing that so experienc'd an Officer should be near him, and by that means a Witness to all his Actions, readily comply'd with his Request, and soon obtain'd the Queen's Leave for his serving in that Post.

The Duke resolving to take the Field as soon as possible, left the *Hague* on *April 30.* and arriv'd at *Ghent* *May 3.* And after a Stay there of two or three Days, and securing the Government of the Cittadel in *English* Hands, went on to *Tournay*, where he met Prince *Eugene*, and the *Deputies* of the *States*. All the *English* Forces, for some Weeks had been in the Field, and lay canton'd along the Road between this City and *Lisle*. And the reason of drawing them out of their Quarters so soon, was, That there had been a Project form'd to take Post at *Oisy*,
on

on the *Sensette*, which wou'd have secur'd the March over the *Schelde*, and might have given the Allies an Opportunity of besieging *Cambray*: Mr. *Cadogan* did not, in the least, question the Success of it; But the *Dutch* making many Difficulties and Delays in this Affair, the Marechal *Villars* had prevented the Design, and taken Possession of *Oisy*, and of all the Passes on the *Sensette*.

Upon a Review of the *English* Forces, it was universally acknowledg'd, That, as those Troops had taken the Field earlier this Year than in any other Campagne, so they had never been better Cloath'd, or better Recruited. The *Dutch* Forces actually in the Field, were deficient in both these Particulars; and the greatest Number of the *Imperialists* were not yet arriv'd, nor did they arrive till some time after; so that, after all the Reports industriously spread, both in *England* and *Holland*, concerning the early Preparations of the Allies, the Duke found, that the Troops then in the best Condition to act, were the *English*.

He us'd all the Solicitations possible, and with great Earnestness press'd the Prince and the other Generals to leave *Tournay*, and open the Campagne: but he found them, particularly the Prince, very irresolute; sometimes desirous to enter into Action, and sometimes willing to expect, for a few Days, the Issue of the Negotiations then on Foot. With this View, or perhaps with a Design

the better to excuse the Backwardness of their own Troops, they defer'd going into the Field for near a Fortnight. However, Prince *Eugene* and Mr. *Vegelin* came to his Grace on the 17th, and it was then agreed between them to pass the *Scheld* near *Bouchain*, in order to encamp at *Avesne le Secque*; and see whether the Confederates could attack the Enemy without great Disadvantage; or, should the Enemy be too strongly posted, it was propos'd to invest *Quesnoy*, which being a little Place, could not hold out above three Weeks at most, after the opening of the Trenches. In order to these Motions, the proportion of the two Armies to be commanded by the Prince and the Duke, was fully adjusted; the Duke had under him the following Troops, consisting of those in the Queen's Pay, and of those paid jointly by Her Majesty and the States, together with a Regiment of *Hussars*.

			Batt.	Squad.
<i>English</i>	—	—	22	19
<i>Danes</i>	—	—	9	21
<i>Prussians</i>	—	—	10	36
<i>Saxons</i>	—	—	7	12
<i>Hannoverians</i>	—	—	14	29
<i>Holstein</i>	—	—	2	8
<i>Wolfenbottle</i>	—	—	2	0
<i>Walloons</i>	—	—	0	4
<i>Anspach</i>	—	—	2	4
<i>Nassau Dillenbourg</i>	—	—	1	0
<i>Ottinghen</i>	—	—	1	0
<i>Hussars</i>	—	—	0	5
Total			70	138

The Command being thus settled, the necessary Directions were given for assembling all the Troops, passing the *Scarpe*, and forming the two Armies on the 21st, between *Doway* and *Marchiennes*; where the Prince and the Duke design'd to join their respective Forces, and there concert such further Measures, as might be requisite for carrying on the Service of the Campagne.

The Duke had some Days before received two Expresses from Mr. Secretary *St. John*, who, in his Letter of the 16th of *April*, tells his Grace, ' That he found, ' by very certain Intelligences from *Holland*, that the *Dutch* Ministers were not ' without their Fears of their new General; That they began to consider he was ' a Papist, and a *German*, at least in Interest; That the Emperor, his Master, had ' nothing to lose on the Side of the *Netherlands*; That a Battle won, might give ' Ground for insisting on higher Terms than ' the House of *Austria* was now likely to ' obtain; That a Battle lost, might still ' contribute to prolong the War; and that, ' in either Case, the Expence of Blood ' would fall to the Share of the Queen and ' the States: That he was of Opinion, that ' these Reflections had occasion'd private ' Directions to their Generals to use more ' Caution than the Prince would perhaps ' approve; and that his Grace might see, ' that

‘ that this Measure was not very consistent
 ‘ with the Compliment of an unlimited Com-
 ‘ mand, made to that Prince by Mr. *Lath-*
 ‘ *mer*, in the Names of the States.

In his Letter of *April* the 25th, the Se-
 cretary acquaints the Duke, ‘ That the
 ‘ Queen was desirous to know particularly, on
 ‘ what Foot the *Dutch* had settled the Com-
 ‘ mand; That Her Majesty inclin’d to be
 ‘ of Opinion, that all the Troops, whether
 ‘ Subjects, or Foreigners, belonging to
 ‘ Her, should be under his Grace’s Com-
 ‘ mand: There might have been formerly
 ‘ Reasons for using a different Method, but
 ‘ there seem’d to be at present, some of a
 ‘ very strong Nature for taking this, and
 ‘ perhaps these might every Day grow
 ‘ stronger; That there could be no need
 ‘ for him to enter into the Grounds which
 ‘ they had, in this Conjunction, to be jea-
 ‘ lous of Prince *Eugene*’s Conduct; his Grace
 ‘ would see and know them all better, than
 ‘ they could be repeated: but that on this
 ‘ Occasion the Queen directed him to in-
 ‘ form his Grace, That She thought, he
 ‘ was to be more cautious for some Time of
 ‘ engaging in any Action, unless in the Case
 ‘ of a very apparent and considerable Ad-
 ‘ vantage, because he would be daily
 ‘ strengthen’d by the Arrival of the Impe-
 ‘ rial Troops; and ’twas but just, these
 ‘ should have their Part, if any thing of
 ‘ that

‘ that Kind was to happen : That the great
 ‘ Article of preventing the Union of the
 ‘ two Monarchies was not yet entirely fet-
 ‘ tled ; the Expedients were hard of Di-
 ‘ gestion to the *French* Stomachs : but if this
 ‘ was got over, he did not see any formi-
 ‘ dable Difficulty in the Way.

The Duke return’d in Answer to these
 Dispatches, much to the same Effect as
 what he wrote on the 9th of *May* ; where-
 in He gave an Account what the *Dutch*
 had done, in regard to the Point of Com-
 mand ; ‘ That he was entirely of the Secre-
 ‘ tary’s Opinion, that a Battle, either lost, or
 ‘ won, would, at this Time, make very great
 ‘ Alterations in the Treaties now on Foot: But
 ‘ the Secretary might remember, that in his
 ‘ Instructions He was order’d to act in conjunc-
 ‘ tion with the Allies, *in prosecuting the War*
 ‘ *with Vigour* ; so that, should there happen
 ‘ a fair Opportunity to attack the Enemy, he
 ‘ could not decline it, if propos’d by the
 ‘ Prince and the States : but he hop’d to hear
 ‘ from him by a Messenger, before the Ar-
 ‘ mies were form’d, which would be on the
 ‘ 21st. ’ The Duke added, in a second Let-
 ter of *May* the 20th, ‘ That, if there were a
 ‘ good Opportunity to attack the Enemy and
 ‘ get into *France*, by the way of *Champagne*,
 ‘ He was sure, the Prince and the States
 ‘ would press it, unless they heard from
 ‘ *England*, that the Peace was near being
 ‘ concluded :

‘ concluded: That he wish’d it very heartily;
 ‘ but, if it were de lay’d, he hop’d, he
 ‘ should have the good Fortune to force the
 ‘ *French* to comply with the Queen’s De-
 ‘ mands.

The Armies having march’d on the Day appointed, his Grace took his Quarters at *Marchiennes*; where in Concert with the Prince, and the Foreign Generals, he resolv’d to go on nearer to the Enemy: and ’twas accordingly agreed, that the Two Armies should march on the 26th, pass the *Scheld*, and Encamp, the Right of Prince *Eugene’s* Army at *Neufville*, and the Left of the Duke of *Ormond’s* at *Solemes*, where we had the River *Selle* in our Rear. And, in order to preserve a Communication with the Places on the *Scarpe*, the Troops were employ’d, for some Days, in repairing the Old *French* Lines between *Denain* and *Walers*, and drawing another Parallel to them from our Bridges on the *Scheld* to *Beaurepair*; in both which a sufficient Body of Troops was to be left, to secure the Convoys of Provisions, as well from the Enemies Garrisons of *Valenciennes* and *Condé*, as from their Army.

On the 24th in the Evening an Express came from Mr. Secretary *St. John* with a Letter, dated *May* the 10th, to acquaint the Duke, ‘ That, since her Majesty had Reason
 ‘ to believe, that She should come to an A-
 ‘ greement

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' agreement upon the Great Article of pre-
 ' venting the Union of the Two Monarchies,
 ' as soon as a Courier sent from *Versailles* to
 ' *Madrid* could return, 'twas Her Majesty's
 ' positive Command, that he should avoid en-
 ' gaging in any Siege, or hazarding a Battle,
 ' till he receiv'd further Orders from Eng-
 ' land. The Secretary acquainted his
 ' Grace likewise, That the Queen would
 ' have him disguise the Receipt of this Order,
 ' and that Her Majesty thought, he could
 ' not want Pretences for conducting him-
 ' self so as to answer Her Ends, with-
 ' out owning that, which might at
 ' present have an ill Effect, if it was public-
 ' ly known. That She could not think
 ' with Patience of sacrificing Men, when
 ' there was a fair Prospect of obtaining her
 ' Purpose another Way; nor would She
 ' suffer Her Self to be expos'd to the Re-
 ' proach of having retarded, by the Events
 ' of the Campagne, a Negotiation, which
 ' might have been as good as concluded
 ' in a few Days. He adds, that this Or-
 ' der was communicated at the same time
 ' to the Court of *France*; so that, if the
 ' Mareschal de *Villars* should take any pri-
 ' vate Notice of it, the Duke was to an-
 ' swer accordingly.

Tho' the March had been fix'd before
 for the 26th, the Duke would have made
 use of some Pretence to delay it, had it

been possible to have found Forage, near enough to the present Camp, for the subsistence of the Troops: but this being utterly impracticable, he was oblig'd to put the March in Execution, as it had been agreed on. At *Solemes*, the Troops, which compos'd the Corps commanded by General *Fagel*, join'd the Armies to which they belonged, and took their Post in the Lines: At the same time, a Body of Troops consisting of Thirty Squadrons of Horse, and Thirteen Battalions of Foot, under the Command of the Lord *Albemarle*, encamp'd at *Denain*, on the other side of the *Scheld*; out of which his Lordship was to furnish such a Number of Men, as might be necessary to guard the Lines drawn from that Place to the *Scarpe*, and secure the Provisions from *Marchiennes* to the Camp.

The Duke, as he was resolv'd to pay a punctual Obedience to the Queen's Commands, us'd all Endeavours to prevent a Suspicion, that he had receiv'd the Orders abovemention'd, tho' he was very apprehensive of the great Difficulty he lay under, in the present Situation of Affairs: And what made the Difficulty still greater was, that Prince *Eugene* and the States Deputies press'd now very vehemently for a Siege, if the engaging the Enemy was found improper. So that the Circumstances his Grace was in, made it almost impossible for him to disguise the true reason of his declining all Proposals,

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which should be made for entring upon some Action: and there was scarce any Excuse left him for delay; since all the Troops which were expected, and the heavy Canon would join the Army in two or three Days.

The Night before the Duke left *Marchiennes*, he receiv'd a Letter from Mareschal *Villars*, in which the Mareschal says, ' He ' has Orders from his Master, with the consent of the Queen, to acquaint him, That ' they were no longer Enemies; and that it ' was the King's particular Injunction to ' Him (the Mareschal) to keep this Matter ' with an inviolable Secrecy.

The Duke, according to the Intimation given him by Mr. Secretary St. *John*, answer'd, ' That he had receiv'd Orders on ' that Subject from the Queen, and should ' be sure to conform himself punctually ' to them; but the keeping the Secret in-joyn'd, would very much depend on the ' Measures the Mareschal himself should ' take. The Duke on his Part let him know, ' That the March he should be oblig'd to ' make, was chiefly for the Subsistance of ' the Troops, and that the Mareschal need ' not be in any Apprehensions on that Account; at least, the Duke would answer ' for the Army, which he had the Honour ' to Command.

On the 27th Prince *Eugene* and the States Deputies desir'd, that the Duke would consent to send the Quarter-Masters to view

the *French* Camp; which the Duke could not refuse, without giving them some Suspicion of what he was order'd to disguise: and he the more readily consented to it, since he was sure no Action could happen, the Enemy being posted behind the *Scheld*. Those who were sent out on this Occasion found, that tho' the Distance between the Head of the *Soame*, and that of the *Scheld*, was not above a League and half, and all plain Ground, the Enemy had not yet offer'd to throw up any Retrenchment. The next Day after the Return of the Detachment, Prince *Eugene* and the Deputies came to Dine with the Duke. The Prince began with the Report that had been made to him (and did not doubt but the Duke had receiv'd the like Account) from the Quarter-Masters General, which went out with the Detachment to view the *French* Camp, and the Overture between the Sources of the *Soame* and the *Scheld*: They all agreed, the Ground was as advantageous as could be desir'd for attacking the Enemy; their Situation being such, as gave us an Opportunity of falling upon their Flank, and Rear. Monsieur *Vegelin*, who had the Curiosity to go out with the Quarter-Masters, declar'd himself to be of the same Opinion, and it was propos'd to March without the least delay towards the Enemy, and attack them. 'Tis easy to imagine, what Difficulty the Duke was under to excuse the delaying a Matter, which, according

according to the Informations he had from the Quarter-Masters, and a great many other General Officers, who were out with the Detachment, seem'd so practicable. The best Excuse he could make, was, by representing to them, that my Lord *Strafford's* sudden Voyage to *England* gave him reason to believe, that there must be something of Improtance then transacting, which four or five Days would bring to light; and therefore he desir'd, they would defer this Undertaking, or any other, till he should receive fresh Letters from *England*, since so short a delay could not be of any ill Consequence. Upon which, both the Prince and the Deputies told his Grace plainly, ' That his Answer was agreeable to the ' Suspicion, they had for some time entertain'd, particularly since the Express of the ' 24th, which they knew had brought him ' Letters from *England*: And they were the more confirm'd in these Suspicions, because Monsieur *Villars*, ' who had on all Occasions ' shewn himself very vigilant; did not send ' out a Man to observe their Motions, nor ' take any other Precautions to secure his ' Camp, where it lay so much expos'd, and ' he could not be ignorant, how strong a ' Detachment had been abroad on that Side. The Duke could not divert the Proposal which had been made to fall upon the *French* Army, by offering to undertake a Siege; since *Quesnoy*, the Place to be attack'd, was within

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within less than three Leagues of the Army, and all Things necessary for a Siege were already at *Marchiennes*: So that the Consequence of this Offer would have been the immediate investing of that Place, which was as contrary to the Queen's last Orders, as a Battle. Prince *Esgene* and the Deputies seem'd extremely dissatisfy'd with the Duke's Answer, and said, ' They were oblig'd to give an Account of what had pass'd, and of the Delays made by the Duke, to their Masters, by Express.'

In this Posture, Things continued for some Days; when on *June* the 4th, two of the Deputies made a Visit to the Duke; and in the Evening sent him a long Memorial, containing the Substance of their Discourse with him. In this they tell the Duke, ' That, by Order of their Masters, they represent to him, with how great a Degree of Surprize the States had receiv'd the News of his declaring, he would undertake nothing, till he had Letters from *England*; and of his refusing to assist either in a Siege, or a Battle: That it seem'd to them incomprehensible and unaccountable, why the Allies should lose such an apparent Opportunity, they had, as well in regard to the Goodness and Number of their Troops, as the Situation of the Armies, to gain some great Advantage over the Enemy, which, if once neglected, might forever be irretrievable: That they could by

' no

‘ no Means conceive his Orders were so
‘ strict, as to tye up his Hands, when so fair
‘ an Occasion of annoying the Enemy pre-
‘ sented itself: and, That in their Opinion,
‘ such Orders ought to be understood in the
‘ best Sense, so as to injoin the declining any
‘ Attempt for some little Time, provided
‘ no great Prejudice might redound by that
‘ Means to the Common Cause; but in no
‘ wise to justify the sitting still with their
‘ Arms a-cross, in such a Situation, where
‘ Inaction would cut off all Hopes of their
‘ being able to attempt any Thing for the
‘ future since; if the Army continu’d unac-
‘ tive for any Time, the Forage would be
‘ consum’d, and the Operations for the rest
‘ of the Campaign, would be render’d not
‘ only difficult, but impracticable. Besides,
‘ the Enemy would have Time to Entrench
‘ and Fortify their Camp, as much as they
‘ pleas’d. That the States had order’d them
‘ to inforce these Arguments with others,
‘ and particularly with this, That the Army
‘ his Grace commanded, consisted not only
‘ of Her Majesty’s National-Troops, but for
‘ the most part, of such, as were in the
‘ Joint-Pay of her Majesty and the States,
‘ the Command of which, indeed, belong-
‘ ed to his Grace, as General in Chief; but
‘ as those Troops were engag’d by both
‘ Powers jointly, to make War and act a-
‘ gainst the Enemy, they could not be ex-
‘ empted from that Service by his Grace a-
‘ lone

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' lone, without the Knowledge and Con-
 ' sent of the States; at least, without contra-
 ' dicting the Treaties, and the Ends, by and
 ' for which they were engag'd: That not
 ' only the Treaty of the *Grand Alliance*,
 ' but others made between Her Majesty and
 ' the States, oblig'd Her Majesty to push on
 ' the War with Vigour; but the Teclarati-
 ' on his Grace made, That he could not act
 ' till further Orders, at a Time, when by
 ' his Grace's own Approbation, they had
 ' march'd within Sight of the Enemy, and
 ' when there was a fair Prospect of Success,
 ' if something were attempted, could not,
 ' they thought, be reconcil'd either with
 ' those Treaties, or the repeated Assurances,
 ' which Her Majesty had given them, by
 ' Letters, by my Lord *Strafford*, and by
 ' his Grace lately at the *Hague*. Therefore
 ' they desir'd his Grace, if he had any Re-
 ' gard to those Treaties and Assurances,
 ' which ought to be kept Sacred, to push on
 ' the War with Vigour, offensively against
 ' the Enemy; but that if his Grace persisted
 ' in his Resolution of not acting Offensively,
 ' they desir'd to know, whether he would
 ' consent, that the Troops under him might
 ' be employ'd to cover a Siege, which they
 ' would undertake; and whether he would
 ' give a Promise to attack the Enemy, if
 ' they came to disturb them: That in case
 ' his Grace refus'd, they did in the most so-
 ' lemn Manner, and in the strongest Terms,
 ' Protest

‘ Protest against the irreparable Damage,
‘ which such a Conduct would occasion to
‘ the Confederacy: That, in order the bet-
‘ ter to guide themselves, they demanded to
‘ know precisely, what his Orders were,
‘ how far they reach’d, and what depen-
‘ dance the States might have on Her Ma-
‘ jesty’s Troops for the future; and lastly,
‘ they requir’d on their Part, That his
‘ Grace would not hinder the Troops in the
‘ Joint-Pay from acting agreeably to the
‘ Reason of War, and their solemn Treaties
‘ and Engagements. The conclusion of the
‘ Memorial was, That the States had order-
‘ ed this Representation to be made in Wri-
‘ ting to his Grace, that all the World and
‘ Posterity might see, That they have been
‘ so far from being guilty of the great Inju-
‘ ry which the Common Cause receives from
‘ the present Inaction, that they have done
‘ all in their Power to prevent it, and that
‘ others are to answer for all the unhappy
‘ Consequences of it.

To the Substance of this Memorial, ex-
press’d before by the Deputies in their Dis-
course with the Duke, he could only an-
swer, That before he enter’d upon Action,
he should be glad to receive Letters from
England, which he expected every Mo-
ment; and this was all the Satisfaction, he
was then at liberty to give to their Demands,
being so bound up, as he was, by his last
Instructions.

The Duke immediately dispatch'd a Messenger to *England*, with an Account of what had pass'd, hoping, That, before they came to any Extremities, he should have his final Orders; and recommending it as a Matter of the greatest Importance, both to the Publick, and Himself, that he should know Her Majesty's Pleasure, as soon as might be.

In the mean Time the Prince and the Deputies press'd the Duke continually for a positive Answer; representing, at the same Time, the Goodness and Superiority of the Confederate Troops, which could not be contradicted; and concluding, the Duke must have Orders not to do any thing, tho' he would not own them; since they knew, he could not answer for his Inaction, if it were not according to Order. In debating this Matter, one of the Deputies took, as the Duke thought, too much Liberty in Censuring the Proceedings of *England*; which he was desir'd to forbear, as being no way agreeable to that good Understanding, which was so necessary to be kept up between the Queen and the States.

While the Duke was under this Uneasiness, on the 7th of *June*, a Letter came from Mr. Secretary *St. John*, dated the 17th of *May*, ' which express'd the Impatience Her Majesty was in to hear, Whether the Orders sent on the 10th of *May*, ' came safely and early to his Hands, and ' the Assurance She had of his Grace's punctual

‘ punctual Obedience to Her Commands, in
 ‘ so nice and important a **Conjuncture**”. His
 Grace return’d an Answer the next Day,
 representing, ‘ That Things were now
 ‘ come to great Extremity ; That he could
 ‘ not avoid seeing, every Day, fresh Marks
 ‘ of the ill Blood and Dissatisfaction caus’d
 ‘ among the Allies, by the Measures he
 ‘ was oblig’d to observe ; That many of
 ‘ them did not scruple to say, We were be-
 ‘ traying them, and this Ferment seem’d
 ‘ rather likely to encrease, than diminish ;
 ‘ and, considering the Circumstances we
 ‘ were in, it was hard to say, what might
 ‘ be the Consequences of it ; That, let the
 ‘ Peace, which he was in daily Expecta-
 ‘ tion to hear of, be never so advantageous,
 ‘ he was apprehensive, that if the Allies
 ‘ should pretend to dislike it, he could not
 ‘ depend upon any Troops but those com-
 ‘ posed of her Majesty’s own Subjects : And
 ‘ what confirm’d him in this Opinion was,
 ‘ that he was very well inform’d,
 ‘ That, if the Elector of *Hanover* did not
 ‘ approve of the Peace, his Troops would
 ‘ have Orders to serve with the *Dutch*, and
 ‘ would likewise be augmented by all that
 ‘ Prince could spare from other Parts ; and
 ‘ he was not without Suspicion, that En-
 ‘ deavours were likewise using to gain the
 ‘ *Danes*.’ The Close of his Letter was in
 these Words : ‘ By this and my former, you
 ‘ may guess, how uneasy a Situation I am

‘ in ; and if there be no Prospect of Action,
 ‘ I do not see of what Use I am here;
 ‘ and if it suit with Her Majesty’s Ser-
 ‘ vice, I should be glad, I might have leave
 ‘ to return to *England*; but, in this, and all
 ‘ other Matters, I shall readily submit to
 ‘ Her Majesty’s Pleasure. I am impatient to
 ‘ hear from you, what I am to depend upon

Prince *Eugene*’s Army had, for some Days
 before been laying Bridges over the *Selle*;
 and, tho’ the Pretence was only for Forage,
 the Duke concluded, that they intended to
 attack *Quesnoy*. In which case, ’twas his O-
 pinion, the only Part he could act, would be,
 to go over the *Selle*, and take the same Camp
 he design’d, as soon as the Forage on this
 Side was consum’d: for, in this Situation,
 he would be between the Besiegers, and the
French Army; and not, consenting to the
 Siege, he should not transgress his Orders,
 as he presum’d Monsieur *Villars* would do
 his, if he should attempt anything against him.

The Prince and Deputies having resolved
 to besiege *Quesnoy*, the two Armies, on the
 7th, had made a movement over the *Selle*, and
 had encamp’d, the Right of the Prince’s Ar-
 my at *Haspre*, and the Left at *St. Pitbon*;
 the Right of that commanded by the Duke
 of *Ormonde* at *St. Pitbon*, and the Left at
Cateau Cambresis. The next Day, *Quesnoy*
 was invested by a Detachment from the two
 Armies, consisting of Thirty Battalions,
 and as many Squadrons, under the Com-
 mand

mand of General *Fagel*. The Duke, tho he had no part in carrying on the Siege, yet could not refuse furnishing Seven Battalions, and Nine Squadrons of the Troops in the Joint-Pay of *England* and the States, but avoided sending any of those, which were in her Majesty's Whole Pay.

On the 10th, a Letter came from Monsieur *Villars*, wherein the Marechal lets the Duke know, ' He had receiv'd several ' Advices, that *Quesnoy* was actually invest- ' ed, and that part of the Troops in his ' Grace's Army was employ'd in that Ser- ' vice; that, by Order of his Master, he ' desires to know of him, if any Troops under ' his Command have a Share in undertaking ' or forming that Siege; for he cannot think, ' Prince *Eugene* would venture to attempt it ' with those Forces alone, which he Com- ' mands. He therefore begs his Grace would ' explain this Matter to him, that he may ' know how to act, and take his Measures, ' according as Prince *Eugene* perseveres in, ' or desists from this Enterprize. He adds, ' that a Courier went from *Paris*, the Mor- ' ning before with the Answer of *Spain* to ' the Queen, which, 'twas suppos'd, would ' be satisfactory. The Duke's Answer was, ' That, as the Marechal observ'd himself, ' of what Consequence it was to keep this ' Affair secret, he would leave him to judge, ' whether he could have done it better, than ' by the Conduct he had observ'd: That it ' was

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‘ was true, that for the Siege of *Quesnoy*,
 ‘ which it was not in his Power to prevent,
 ‘ he had furnish’d some Troops, which were
 ‘ paid in Part by the States, but not one
 ‘ single Man solely in the Queen’s Pay;
 ‘ That he thought, since the Trenches were
 ‘ not open’d, the Siege which would have
 ‘ no Effect to break the Measures concerted
 ‘ between their Sovereigns, before they
 ‘ could receive their final Instructions. He
 ‘ concludes, ‘ He was surpriz’d, upon
 ‘ the Duke of *Wirtemberg*’s informing him,
 ‘ that the Mareschal had said to one of that
 ‘ Duke’s Trumpets, that the *English* would
 ‘ do the *French* no hurt, nor the *French*
 ‘ them; that himself had such Orders, and
 ‘ did not doubt, but his Grace had the same.

‘ The Mareschal, in another Letter the
 ‘ next Day, deny’d, That he had ever
 ‘ seen, or heard of any Trumpet from the
 ‘ Duke of *Wirtemberg*; That this was a
 ‘ meer Invention of those, who had a mind
 ‘ to give a Reputation to the *Dutch Gazettes*,
 ‘ in which it had been affirm’d, that his
 ‘ Grace had shew’d Prince *Eugene* his Or-
 ‘ ders, not to engage in any Attempt”.
 He desires to be inform’d by his Grace,
 ‘ Whether the Army under his Command
 ‘ would oppose any Attempt, which the
 ‘ King’s Forces would certainly make upon
 ‘ the Prince, if he continu’d the Siege:
 ‘ And adds, ‘ That the King, while he
 ‘ sees Prince *Eugene* undertaking a Siege,
 ‘ and

‘ and knows the Army under his Grace
 ‘ ought not to act, directly, or indirectly
 ‘ against his, would be very much displeas-
 ‘ ed with him, if he should continue unactive.

In the mean time an Express arriv’d from
 Mr. Secretary *St. John* with two Letters;
 the first of *May* the 27th, acquainting the
 Duke, ‘ That the affected Alarm and Cla-
 ‘ mour rais’d with so much Industry, both
 ‘ in *England* and *Holland*, upon what had
 ‘ lately pass’d between his Grace, Prince
 ‘ *Eugene*, and the *Dutch*, gives Her Ma-
 ‘ jesty no Uneasiness whatsoever; and that,
 ‘ as Her Orders were founded on the most
 ‘ just, as well as prudent Considerations, his
 ‘ Grace had obey’d them with that firmness,
 ‘ which became him; that Her Majesty ap-
 ‘ proves his Grace’s Proposal in taking the
 ‘ Camp he had mention’d, to cover the
 ‘ Siege of *Quesnoy*, if the Prince and the
 ‘ States persist in their Design of attacking
 ‘ that Place; That ’twas Her Majesty’s
 ‘ Pleasure, his Grace should find the most
 ‘ plausible Pretence of sending a Trumpet
 ‘ to *Monsieur Villars*, to inform that Gene-
 ‘ ral of the true State of Affairs, and to ac-
 ‘ quaint him, that Things would not con-
 ‘ tinue long in this uncertain Condition,
 ‘ since, in four, or five Days, the Duke
 ‘ might expect to hear from *England*, that
 ‘ the Peace was secure, or to receive Orders
 ‘ for entring immediately upon Action.
 ‘ His Grace was directed to conclude by say-
 ‘ ing,

‘ ing, that, since the Suspence would soon
 ‘ be remov’d, he hop’d, the Marechal
 ‘ would not oblige him to come to any Acti-
 ‘ on, either to defend himself, or to join
 ‘ with Prince *Eugene*, as he must necessari-
 ‘ ly do, if the Prince should be attack’d.

The Second Letter from Mr. Secretary, of
 the 28th, gives an Account of the Question
 mov’d that Day, and rejected in both Houses
 of Parliament, ‘ *That the Queen would*
 ‘ *send Orders to his Grace to fight*; and of
 the Address which was carry’d, in the Com-
 mons, without a Division, and, in the
 Lords, by a Majority of Twenty-eight.
 The Secretary adds, ‘ That the Spirit,
 ‘ which was then shewn in both Houses,
 ‘ was more considerable, and a better O-
 ‘ men, than ever the Majority by which
 ‘ they prevail’d. Inclosed was a Letter, of
 the same Date, from the Secretary to the
 Marquis of *Torcy*, to this Purpose; ‘ That
 ‘ the Remonstrances, which the States had
 ‘ made to the Queen, upon the Duke of
 ‘ *Ormond*’s refusing to engage with them,
 ‘ either in a Battle, or a Siege, had no o-
 ‘ ther Effect on Her Majesty, than to make
 ‘ Her renew the same Orders to the Duke:
 ‘ but, in case Prince *Eugene* and the States,
 ‘ which was not very likely, should persist
 ‘ in their Design of Besieging any Place,
 ‘ tho’ the Army of the Queen should not
 ‘ concur in it; the Duke of *Ormond* was to
 ‘ desire Monsieur *Villars* not to attempt any
 ‘ thing

‘ thing against them, nor oblige them to
‘ come to any Action: That, in a very
‘ few Days, the Queen expected the An-
‘ swer of King *Philip* from his most Christi-
‘ an Majesty; upon which, either Her Ma-
‘ jesty would be satisfy’d, or give Orders to
‘ Her General to act with all possible Vi-
‘ gour: That so inconsiderable a Delay as
‘ this, could be of no Prejudice to their In-
‘ terests; and therefore the Queen did not
‘ doubt, but the Marechal would think
‘ himself oblig’d to hinder any general Ac-
‘ tion, by giving no Disturbance to the Al-
‘ lies, as the Duke of *Ormond* had already
‘ prevented it, by refusing to act against
‘ the Army of *France*.

If Prince *Eugene*’s Army and the *Dutch*
were so unreasonable, as to press on to a
Siege, without his Grace’s Concurrence,
and to refuse to stay a few Days, while he
expected his final Orders, the Duke is di-
rected to send this Letter with one for him-
self, in the Manner which has been menti-
on’d, to Monsieur *Villars*; which he ac-
cordingly did, on the 12th. To this the
Marechal return’d an Answer, the next
Day, ‘ That, tho’ it was mortifying to see
‘ an Enemy undertake a Siege, without
‘ giving him any Disturbance, he would
‘ not attempt any thing against the Army
‘ of Prince *Eugene*’.

On the 13th, Monsieur *Welderer*, and
Monsieur *Hop* (who arriv’d the Day before,

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from the *Hague*, with some secret Commission to the Army, and had been in Conference with Prince *Eugene*, and the other Deputies for three Hours) came, by Order of their Masters the States, to the Duke. Monsieur *Welderen* began the Discourse, by assuring his Grace, in the Name of the States, that they had the same profound Veneration and Respect for the Queen as ever, and would take care to shew it, on all Occasions; tho' they had reason to apprehend, some ill Offices had been done them by their being represented, as if they had too great a Correspondence with the Whiggish Party in *England*. They desir'd the Duke to assure Her Majesty of the contrary; and intimated the Design of the States to send an extraordinary Deputation to Her Majesty, for the same Purpose. Discourfing afterwards on the Subject of the Siege of *Quesnoy*, the Deputies ask'd the Duke, if he would furnish any more of the Auxiliary Troops for that Service? To which is answer'd, That he had given them what they at first desir'd, and could spare no more. The Duke was then ask'd, Whether, in case of their being attack'd, during the Siege, he would cover them? To which he reply'd, He would, 'till he had further Orders. They then enquir'd particularly, Whether they might depend upon his Assistance, in case the *French* should make a Detour, and come to them by way of *Lan-*

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drecy and *Bavay*? He assur'd them they might, 'till such time, as he should have Instructions to the contrary; and, that then they should not fail of being acquainted with it. The Deputy, who, not long ago, had spoken somewhat too freely of the Proceedings in *England*, made all the Excuses that could be desir'd; and the Behaviour of the Field-Deputies was very different from what it was, when his Grace saw them last.

As soon as the Duke had receiv'd the News of what had pass'd in Parliament, he order'd it to be translated and sent to Monsieur *Bulou*; who came next Morning, and in his Discourse, seem'd not very well satisfy'd with the *Dutch*, and took some Pains to persuade his Grace, That the Elector of *Hanover*, his Master, would never give into any Measures, but in concert with the Queen. And indeed the Language was now very much chang'd among all the Foreign Troops.

At this very Juncture of Time, Advice came from good Hands in *Holland*, That the *Dutch* had engag'd Mr. P——m to propose, in their Name, to the Marquis of *Torcy*, a separate Negociation with *France*, exclusive of the *English*; and represent to him the particular Advantages, *France* might promise itself from such a Treaty; but that this Proposal receiv'd not the least Countenance from *Versailles*. About the same Time, the Duke receiv'd a Letter of

June 17, from the Lord Privy-Seal, wherein, among other Things, the Bishop informs him, ' That the Ministers of the States, ' tho' frequently put in Mind and call'd upon, had never been prevail'd with to treat ' about any Plan of Peace, to that very ' Day. That therefore, upon their making ' so ill a Return to the Queen's Condescensions towards them, and refusing to concert Measures with Her, he had been order'd by Her Majesty to take the first solemn Occasion to declare, that all Her Majesty's Offers were founded upon this express Condition, that they came immediately into the Queen's Measures; and that ' She look'd upon Herself from their Conduct now, to be under no Obligation ' whatever to them.

On the 21st an Express arriv'd from Mr. Secretary *St. John*, with a Letter dated *June* 7th. This owns the Receipt of all the Duke's Letters, ' and begins with mentioning the Satisfaction, which her Majesty hears of that exact Obedience, which ' his Grace had paid to Her Orders'. En- clos'd were Copies of two Letters and a Memorial, which were to be dispatch'd the same Day from *England* to the Marquis of *Forcy*, containing Proposals for a Cessation of Arms, for Two Months, between the Armies in the *Netherlands*: In these the Queen insists on the Execution of the Articles, relating to King *Philip's* Renunciation
of

of the Crown of *France*, and on the immediate delivery of *Dunkirk*, as Points, without which, She would not declare for a Cessation. The Secretary acquainted his Grace, ' That Her Majesty was positively resolv'd ' to continue no longer on the present Foot, ' Matters being now brought to a very ' short Issue. ' If these Conditions were accepted, and sent him Sign'd by the Marquis of *Torcy*, and *Dunkirk* put into our Possession, he was publickly to own, He could act no longer against the *French*; ' If they were not consented to, he was entirely free from Restraint, and at liberty ' to take all reasonable Measures, which ' were in his Power, for annoying the Enemy. That he hopes, my Lord *Strafford*, ' then going to *Utrecht*, will find the *Dutch* ' more tractable than they have hitherto ' been; in which case, the Queen would ' do her utmost, to settle the Terms of a ' Cessation, and of a Peace too, in the best ' Manner for them. That it was with the ' greatest Regret, Her Majesty found Her- ' self constrain'd to come to such Extremities with Her Allies; but what Remedy ' had She left? when either She must follow this Course, or submit to be us'd ' worse than any petty Prince, and see the ' Negotiation wrested out of Her Hands, for ' no other Reason but because some Benefit ' was like to accrue to Her Subjects by a ' Peace. That 'twas probable, Monsieur ' *Villars*

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‘ *Villars* would receive the Orders (*for the*
 ‘ *Surrendry of Dunkirk*) which would be
 ‘ sent from *Versailles*; and, That therefore
 ‘ his Grace should lose no time in acquaint-
 ‘ ing the Mareschal, That, according to the
 ‘ King’s Resolution upon these Articles,
 ‘ they were either to look on themselves,
 ‘ on both Sides, as freed from any restri-
 ‘ ctive Orders, and in full liberty of Acting
 ‘ against each other; or openly to declare
 ‘ for a Cessation of Arms, while the best
 ‘ Means possible were us’d with the rest of
 ‘ the Allies, to do the same. However,
 ‘ the Queen’s Declaration was to be positive.
 ‘ That his Grace, to be sure, was inform-
 ‘ ed of the Endeavours us’d by the States to
 ‘ seduce the Troops in Her Majesty’s Pay,
 ‘ from Her, and to borrow Money for car-
 ‘ rying on their Subsistence. The Queen
 ‘ makes no doubt therefore, but his Grace
 ‘ was on his Guard, and would take the
 ‘ best Precaution to make those Troops
 ‘ steady to Her Majesty’s Interest, and to
 ‘ prevent any Surprize: That Care would
 ‘ be taken to let the several Ministers know,
 ‘ in what Manner the Queen would resent
 ‘ any Steps of this kind; and that his Grace
 ‘ would do well to speak the same Language
 ‘ to the Generals of the Foreign Corps,
 ‘ paid by the Queen. The Secretary ob-
 ‘ serves, how the Duke had been press’d,
 ‘ he might say, undecently, to give an Ac-
 ‘ count, what Orders he had receiv’d; and
 ‘ tells

‘ tells the Duke, That he himself had been
 ‘ question’d, by the *Dutch* Minister, much
 ‘ in the same Manner; whom he answer’d,
 ‘ by demanding, what the private Instruc-
 ‘ tions were, which the States had given to
 ‘ their Deputies and Generals. He is of O-
 ‘ pinion, That, in Case *France* should agree
 ‘ with the Queen, and his Grace should, by
 ‘ consequence, refuse publickly to Act a-
 ‘ gainst them, the Allies would have little
 ‘ Reason to complain; since *Dunkirk* was
 ‘ something more valuable than *Quesnoy*,
 ‘ and a Town deliver’d up, was more cheap-
 ‘ ly acquir’d than a Town taken by Siege.’

The Duke immediately sent a Trumpet
 to the Maréchal; and, *June* the 25th, re-
 ceiv’d a Copy of the Articles, the Original
 of which had been *Sign’d* by the Marquiss
 of *Torcy*, in the Manner the Queen had de-
 manded. Upon this, the Earl of *Orkney*
 was directed to prepare himself to march
 with ten Battalions, in order to take Posses-
 sion of *Dunkirk*.

This Morning, the Duke wrote to Mon-
 sieur *Villars*, and signify’d to him, That
 he wish’d the Marquiss of *Torcy* would have
 given himself the Trouble to have *Sign’d*
 the ‘ Copy of the Articles, which would
 ‘ have been more regular, and more agree-
 ‘ able to the Duke’s Instructions: However,
 ‘ he would not obstruct the accomplishing
 ‘ so good a Work, by raising Difficulties
 ‘ and Scruples, and insisting too much upon
 ‘ the

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• the want of Formality. That he was just
 • going to make Prince *Eugene*, and the
 • States-Deputies a Visit, with whom he
 • was to keep Measures to the last; and,
 • that he should endeavour to persuade them
 • to desist from the Siege of *Quesnoy*, and
 • declare to them, that in Case of their Re-
 • fusal, he should be oblig'd to withdraw
 • the Army of the Queen. That he should
 • send away a Detachment, the next Day,
 • to take Possession of *Dunkirk*; but was of
 • Opinion, that the Marechal should have
 • given him an Order in Form, for its Sur-
 • render; and desir'd, he would lose no
 • Time, in a Matter of so great Import-
 • tance: concluding, That, as soon as he
 • knew the Resolutions of the Prince, and
 • the Deputies, he would not fail to let
 • him have Notice of it.

The same Day (*June* the 25th) the Duke
 visited the Prince and the Deputies, in pur-
 suance of his Promise to acquaint them with
 any fresh Orders he should receive from *En-*
gland, incompatible with his covering the
 Siege of *Quesnoy*; and told them, That the
French King had agreed to several Articles
 demanded by the Queen, as a Foundation
 for a Suspension of Arms; and, among o-
 thers, the giving up immediately into our
 Possession the Town of *Dunkirk*. That the
 Duke therefore could no longer cover the
 Siege of *Quesnoy*; being oblig'd, by his In-
 structions, to march with the Queen's
 Troops,

Troops, and those in Her Majesty's Pay, and to declare a Cessation of Arms, as soon as *Dunkirk* was deliver'd up: And he hop'd, they would readily concur therein, which would be the most powerful Motive to induce the Queen, to take all possible Care of their Interests at the Peace. He likewise endeavour'd to shew them, That *Dunkirk*, as a Cautionary Town, was a Place of greater Consequence to the Allies, than *Quesnoy*. The Deputies desir'd five Day's Time to consult their Masters, upon so important a Matter; which the Duke would have allow'd them, if in the mean Time they would have agreed to desist from the Prosecution of the Siege, or at least to make some Delay in it, which they said was not in their Power. However, He at last consented to give them three Days; that being no Hindrance to the Execution of his Orders, because he could not expect to have an Account, before that Time, from the *French* Court, how *Dunkirk* should be deliver'd up to him. The Deputies refus'd to let a Detachment go through any of their Towns, in the Way to *Dunkirk*: and both they and the Prince, told his Grace, That his marching away with the Queen's Troops, and the Foreigners in Her Pay, would leave them to the Mercy of the *French*: but that they were sure the Foreigners would not march; which, it seems, they have very good Ground to believe.

The Duke had taken the first Opportunity to sound the Generals of the Foreign Troops in the Queen's Pay: they seem'd, at first, well-inclin'd to continue steady to Her Majesty's Interest, and particularly General *Bulou*, who came to his Grace, seemingly with great Joy and Satisfaction, as soon as he had read the Queen's Speech, and told him, He was ready, with his Master's Troops, to follow all such Orders, as his Grace should think fit to give him. But, upon discoursing with him now, the Duke found, that Means had been us'd to prevail upon him, as well as the rest; who agreed in making Excuses, and pretended they could not separate from the Confederacy, without express Directions from their Masters, to whom they had sent Couriers accordingly. They alledg'd, That neither the Grand Alliance, nor the particular Conventions, admitted of any Parties treating of, or making Peace, or even a Suspension of Arms, without the Consent of the others. The Duke thought it belong'd not to him to enter into these last Particulars; but insisted on the Commands he had receiv'd from the Queen, and on the Engagements they were under to assist him, their General, in an effectual Compliance with them; representing at the same Time, the just Reasons the Queen had to resent, and the ill Consequences that would attend their Refusal.

How-

However, the Duke finding, That the Foreign Troops would obey no Orders, but what they themselves, in Conjunction with the Prince and the Deputies, should approve, countermanded the Detachment design'd for *Dunkirk*. And in the Afternoon sent to Monsieur *Villars* an Account of the Result of his Visit, and desir'd to know of him more particularly, ' In what manner ' *Dunkirk* was to be put into our Hands, ' in Case the *English* Troops march'd alone, without the Auxiliaries; which he ' had some Reason to suspect, might scruple to go along with him: Adding, That ' he hop'd he would not defer the necessary Orders for the Delivery of that ' Town, which would be a Means to make ' every thing, relating to the Peace, go ' on the more easily, and the Cessation of ' Arms take Effect the sooner.

This Precaution the Duke thought very necessary, having no Assurance, that *Dunkirk* would be surrender'd upon a Cessation being declar'd, not by the Queen's Army, of which he had the Command, but by that Part of it only, which consisted of Her Majesty's own Subjects.

The same Day, a second Express arriv'd with a Letter, dated *June* the 11th, where Mr. Secretary *St. John* acquaints the Duke, ' That, supposing he receives from the ' Court of *France*, an Acceptance of the ' Conditions, propos'd by Her Majesty, for

‘ Suspension of Arms, the Queen directs
 ‘ that he would consider, how to take Possession of *Dunkirk* in the safest and best
 ‘ Manner ; and this, not only with respect
 ‘ to the Enemy, but to the Allies : And,
 ‘ that he would know of Monsieur *Villars*,
 ‘ what Facility he could give on his Part
 ‘ in this Matter, and how his Grace might
 ‘ best obviate such Difficulties, as the Prince
 ‘ and the Deputies might create. And tho’
 ‘ what had pass’d lately in *England*, had
 ‘ made the Queen absolutely Mistress of
 ‘ Her own Conduct, and cut off all Hopes
 ‘ of breaking through Her Measures : It
 ‘ was good, however, to suppose the worst ;
 ‘ and to omit no Precaution, in an Affair
 ‘ so nice in its Nature, and of so great Importance to the Queen’s Honour, and to
 ‘ the Interest of Her Kingdoms. Should
 ‘ the *French* not comply with the Articles
 ‘ propos’d by Her Majesty, his Grace understood himself to be at Liberty to act,
 ‘ as if no restrictive Orders had ever been
 ‘ sent him.

The Duke, upon a Supposition, that
 Monsieur *Villars* would send him a satisfactory Answer, and that the Foreign
 Troops would persist in their Refusal to
 obey his Orders, design’d to make use of
 the safest Method, and march with all the
English Troops, and the Artillery, to *Dunkirk* ; the *English* Corps being so small, that
 it could not be any other Way secure.

They

They would then have the Sea open, in case the Queen should think fit to recall them; the Town of *Dunkirk*, and Forts depending upon it, would hold all the Foot, and the Horse might be encamp'd under the Canon. And this the Duke had Reason to think the more necessary, since the *Dutch* had refus'd to let a Detachment pass through their Towns; and, should the Troops be separated, he could not be so able to answer for the Execution of any Orders the Queen might send him, as he should be at *Dunkirk*. This was the Disposition the Duke thought most suitable to the present Posture of Affairs. And, that nothing might be omitted on his Side, he sent to the foreign Generals written Orders, requiring them to be ready to march with him, upon the first Motion he should make.

On the 27th, a Trumpet from Monsieur *Villars* let the Duke know, ' That he
' had dispatch'd a Courier to Court, a-
' bout the Subject of his last Letter; and
' in the mean time inform'd him, That
' the Orders for the Delivery of *Dunkirk*,
' of Course, went from Court to the Lieu-
' tenant-General that commanded in the
' Place, who, he suppos'd, would have
' Directions to surrender it, as soon as the
' Marechal could send him Word, that the
' Cessation was agreed upon: And this, he
' thinks might commence immediately,
' since

' since the King had agreed to all the
 ' Queen's Demands. But he begs Leave
 ' to observe to the Duke, That the King
 ' might very well be astonish'd, that, in
 ' Case of a Cessation, the Generals of the
 ' Auxiliary Troops should make any Dif-
 ' ficulty to separate from Prince *Eugene* ;
 ' and, That 'twas surprizing, that the
 ' *Dutch* should have more Power over
 ' Men, which they do not Pay, to make
 ' them hazard their Lives, than the Queen,
 ' who has paid them these dozen Years,
 ' should have to persuade them not to ex-
 ' pose themselves to any Danger.

On the 29th Monsieur *Villars* sent the
 Answer, which the Marquis of *Torcy* had
 dispatch'd to Mr. Secretary *St. John* the
 27th, about the Point of a Cessation. The
 Substance of the Marquis's Letter was,
 ' That, notwithstanding so essential a Dif-
 ' ference, as that of the Auxiliaries still
 ' continuing with Prince *Eugene*, the Duke
 ' of *Ormonde* demanded the Surrender of
 ' *Dunkirk* ; That in the very Articles pro-
 ' pos'd for a Cessation 'tis express'd, that
 ' the Cessation should be between the Ar-
 ' mies, which are at present in the *Nether-*
 ' *lands* ; that 'tis upon this View of a Ge-
 ' neral Cessation, that so important a Place as
 ' *Dunkirk* was to be deliver'd up : That the
 ' chief Motive, which made *England* and
 ' *France* agree to a Cessation was, that no-
 ' thing might happen between the Armies

' to

‘ to interrupt the Measures, which were
‘ taking for a Peace : To effect this, no-
‘ thing but a general Cessation would be
‘ sufficient ; and, if the Enemies of Peace
‘ had still the Liberty, the Means, and
‘ Power of acting left them, the Condition
‘ upon which the King was to surrender
‘ *Dunkirk* to the Queen, would not be
‘ comply’d with on Her Majesty’s Part :
‘ That the King always thought, the Queen
‘ was entire Mistress of the Troops, which
‘ compos’d Her Army : and that they had
‘ all Orders to follow the Duke of *Or-*
‘ *mond*’s Directions ; and therefore, upon a
‘ Cessation, were to forbear Action, as well
‘ as the *English* : That, in Case the *English*
‘ alone left the Army, Prince *Eugene* find-
‘ ing himself the sole General at the Head
‘ of great Numbers of Men, would ha-
‘ zard any thing to come to an Action ;
‘ and would not at all scruple to sacrifice
‘ Troops, which his Master did not pay,
‘ and which were to be under the Prince’s
‘ Command, only during the Remainder of
‘ the Campagne. Therefore, since Propo-
‘ sals for a Cessation neither answer’d the
‘ Measures, which the Queen had hitherto
‘ taken for a Peace, nor agreed to the
‘ Articles, which had been concerted be-
‘ tween Her Majesty and the King upon that
‘ Subject, the King was persuaded, that
‘ the Queen would give the Duke of *Or-*
‘ *mond* full Instructions to separate the
‘ whole

‘ whole entire Army, which was in Her
 ‘ Majesty’s Pay, and actually under the
 ‘ Duke’s Command, from that of Prince
 ‘ *Eugene* : and, when this was done, the
 ‘ King would be ready to deliver up *Dun-*
 ‘ *kirk*, as it had been agreed upon in the
 ‘ Articles for the Cessation.

The View of this Letter gave the Duke good Reason to hope, that the Queen would approve of his deferring to separate Her Troops, and to march towards *Dunkirk*, till he had Assurance, that the Place would be deliver’d up to him : Whereas now the contrary appear’d so evidently, that he should have thought himself immediately at Liberty to act in Conjunction with the Allies, would he have taken upon himself to make a Step of that Consequence, without the Queen’s particular Orders ; but these he had further Room to expect, since the Allies were now engaged in the Siege of *Quesnoy*, and in no Condition at present of attacking the Enemy. And the Duke was the less uneasy under this Delay, being sensible, that *England* had not been able on Her Part to make good the Condition of a General Cessation, upon which the immediate Delivery of *Dunkirk* was promised.

Monfieur *Villars* in his Letter had invited the Duke of *Ormond* to an Interview, which the Duke, (being no Way impower’d to agree to it, and resolv’d never to depart the

the least Tittle from his Instructions,) declin'd, and excus'd himself in a Letter to the Mareſchal.

While the Duke was diſpatching an Expreſs with an Account of all theſe Proceedings, a Meſſenger ſent him a Letter, of *June* the 14th, from Mr. Secretary *St. John*, which gave the Duke an Account, ' That the Courier return'd from *France* ' the Night before, and that Her Maſteſty's ' Demands were comply'd with to Her Satisfaction. If therefore his Grace had any ' Difficulties, as ſeveral were foreſeen, which ' might ariſe in taking Poſſeſſion of *Dunkirk*, he might keep his Army entire; ' and the Meaſures were ready in *England*, ' for ſending over Troops ſufficient for that ' Service: That nothing could be more ' dreadful to the *Dutch*, than this Town ' in *Engliſh* Hands: That he was therefore ' to conſider the Temper they were in; ' and, if he were likely to have the leaſt ' Diſturbance given him on this Account, ' he was to keep the Secret, ſend his Accounts to the Queen, and in the mean ' time the Troops ſhould be ready to enter ' the Place from *England*; where Means ' would be found of concerting Things ſo, ' that the Declaration for a Suſpenſion of ' Arms ſhould be exactly tim'd with the ' Evacuation of *Dunkirk*. If he had taken ' Poſſeſſion, well: If not, they could be ' able to do it from thence; and perhaps

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‘ in the present Ferment, he had better lie
 ‘ still, and let *Dunkirk* be possess’d first,
 ‘ and the Clamour happen afterwards

On the 5th of *July* came another Letter
 of *June* the 20th, from the Secretary, in-
 forming the Duke, ‘ That the Queen had
 ‘ order’d my Lord *Strafford* to make all
 ‘ possible Haste to the Army, with Instruc-
 ‘ tions, which were necessary in this Criti-
 ‘ cal Conjunction: That the Foreign Mini-
 ‘ sters had been told, that the Queen
 ‘ would look upon Herself as acquitted
 ‘ from all Obligations of Arrears of Subsi-
 ‘ dies; or Pay, to that Prince, whose
 ‘ Troops should refuse to obey Her Gene-
 ‘ ral’s Orders without Hesitation: That his
 ‘ Grace should declare as much to those,
 ‘ who commanded them; and require a
 ‘ positive Answer from them: That, till
 ‘ my Lord *Strafford* came, the best Use
 ‘ his Grace could make of the intermediate
 ‘ Time, would be, to continue vigilantly
 ‘ on his Guard, and to speak in the plain-
 ‘ est and most resolute Manner to them.

Enclosed came a Copy of a Letter from
 the Secretary to the Marquis of *Torcy* of
 the same Date, the Subject of which was;
 ‘ That the Queen, having receiv’d an Ac-
 ‘ count of what had pass’d, both from the
 ‘ Duke of *Ormond*, and from *France*, com-
 ‘ manded him to acquaint the Marquis,
 ‘ how very great a Dissatisfaction it was to
 ‘ Her to see, that the Enemies of Peace had
 ‘ again

‘ again found out Means to retard its Con-
‘ clusion, by exposing the Methods, by
‘ which it was to be gain’d, to new Diffi-
‘ culties and Dangers. But, as Her Maje-
‘ sty had taken a firm and immoveable Re-
‘ solution, not to give the least Way to
‘ those Obstructions, and to continue Her
‘ utmost Endeavours, in Concert with the
‘ King, towards establishing a General
‘ Peace; so She did not doubt, but She
‘ should be able to defeat the last Efforts
‘ of those, who either sought their own In-
‘ terest, or gratified their private Resent-
‘ ments, in prolonging the Miseries of
‘ War. That he, in the Queen’s Name,
‘ had declar’d to the Ministers of those
‘ Princes, who had Troops in Her Pay,
‘ that, in this Juncture, Her Majesty would
‘ look upon the Conduct of the Foreign Ge-
‘ nerals, as a Declaration of their Masters,
‘ for, or against Her; since they must ei-
‘ ther follow the Plan, which She had laid
‘ for obtaining a Peace, or that, which the
‘ Emperor and the States had form’d for
‘ the breaking it off. That the Queen
‘ could not persuade Herself, that those
‘ Generals, after a little Reflection, would
‘ obey the Duke of *Ormond*’s Orders with-
‘ out the least Hesitation; but if they did
‘ not, Her Majesty would pay those Troops
‘ no longer. That those Ministers had writ
‘ to their Generals by this Courier; and
‘ the Duke of *Ormond* would receive Or-

' ders, not only to make the same Declara-
 ' tions, but to put them immediately in
 ' Execution, if they refus'd to obey. That
 ' the Queen thought this Method could not
 ' fail of succeeding ; but, in Case any of
 ' the Foreign Troops persisted in their De-
 ' sign of staying with Prince *Eugene*, the
 ' Duke of *Ormond* should retire with the
 ' *English* Forces, and all the Foreigners,
 ' who would march with him (which to
 ' be sure would be the greatest Part of
 ' them) and declare, that Her Majesty
 ' would no longer act against *France*, nor
 ' pay those that did. That Her Majesty,
 ' who had hitherto observ'd Measures with
 ' Her Allies, being forc'd by them to such
 ' an Extremity as this, thought Herself ju-
 ' stified before God and Men, and at Li-
 ' berty to carry on the Negotiations at *U-*
 ' *trecht*, or elsewhere, without regarding,
 ' whether they concurr'd with Her or no.
 ' So that, if the King would surrender the
 ' Town and Forts of *Dnnkirk* into the
 ' Queen's Hands, though all the Foreign
 ' Troops, or some of them should refuse
 ' to obey the Duke of *Ormond*, Her Maje-
 ' sty would no longer make any Scruple of
 ' concluding her particular Peace ; and
 ' would set a Time for the others to come
 ' in upon those Conditions, which should be
 ' agreed upon between Her and *France*.
 ' That the Peace now was in the King's
 ' Breast: If all the Army of the Duke of
 ' *Ormond*

Ormond should agree to a Suspension of Arms, the first Project, which was concerted between them, had its Effect; If they did not, the Duke would withdraw with the *English* from the Allies, and the Foreign Troops would be left to take Service from the *Dutch*; who were so far from being able to furnish this new Expence, that they were not in a Condition to support the Charges they were already at. In short, that *England* would retire from the Theatre of War; and, since there would be but a few Powers left in a Capacity to make Head against *France*, the Peace might be concluded between these Two Kingdoms in a few Weeks. These were the Proposals Her Majesty made; and She believ'd the King would find his Account in them, as well upon the latter, as the former Plan; and that, besides, he would think it for both their Interests, to make immediately a general Cessation, as well by Sea as by Land, between the Two Crowns: That every Moment of Time was precious, in such a Juncture; and therefore the Marquis would dispatch a Courier to the Duke, at the same Time he sent to *England*. If the Duke had Notice, that the King had given Orders to the Officer, who commanded in *Dunkirk*, for the Surrender of it, his Grace would immediately execute, what the Secretary

‘ Secretary propos’d ; and in that Case,
 ‘ Her Majesty would send some Regiments
 ‘ from *England*, to take Possession of that
 ‘ Place, which would be a Way less liable
 ‘ to Accidents, than making a Detachment
 ‘ from the Duke’s Army, as was at first de-
 ‘ sign’d. The Letter concludes, that the
 ‘ Queen had resolv’d to send my Lord
 ‘ *Strafford* directly to the Army.

In the Secretary’s Letter (wherein this
 to the Marquis of *Torcy* was enclos’d) the
 Duke was further reminded, that if he re-
 ‘ ceiv’d an Account from the Court of
 ‘ *France*, that Her Majesty’s last Proposals
 ‘ were agreed to, and Orders dispatch’d for
 ‘ the Surrender of *Dunkirk*, he would have
 ‘ no more to do, than to declare the Sus-
 ‘ pension of Arms between *Great Britain*
 ‘ and *France* ; to keep the whole Body,
 ‘ which should obey his Orders entire, and
 ‘ to withdraw, in the best Manner, which
 ‘ the Circumstances, he should be in, would
 ‘ allow of.

Upon the Receipt of these Letters, the
 Duke sent an Express to *England*, and ac-
 quainted Mr. Secretary, ‘ what a great
 ‘ Advantage he should have in this diffi-
 ‘ cult Conjunction, that the next Com-
 ‘ mands of the Queen were to be brought
 ‘ him by the Earl of *Strafford* : whose long
 ‘ Experience and good Advice would, he
 ‘ hop’d, help him to execute his Orders
 ‘ with better Success, and more Satisfaction

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‘ to Her Majesty, than he had hitherto
‘ been able to do; tho’ he could scarce be
‘ so sanguine, as to flatter himself, that all
‘ his Lordship had to say, would prevail
‘ on the Generals of the Foreign Troops in
‘ the Queen’s Pay, to change their Con-
‘ duct, till they had Orders from their re-
‘ spective Masters. That he hop’d, my
‘ Lord *Strafford* would be able to inform
‘ him of the Rout he was to take, that the
‘ Troops might not be in Danger of want-
‘ ing Subsistence, since the States, to be
‘ sure, would not be willing we should live
‘ upon their Territories; and he could not
‘ see, how we could do it any where else,
‘ without paying for what we had, and
‘ there was no Possibility of staying longer
‘ in the present Camp, after we had declar-
‘ ed the Suspension of Arms. His Grace
‘ added, that he could not conceal from
‘ him, that there were Advices from *France*,
‘ which said, that Monsieur *Villars* oppos-
‘ ed, as much as he could, the delivering
‘ up *Dunkirk* on any other Conditions, than
‘ a general Suspension between the Queen’s
‘ whole Army, and that of the King his
‘ Master.

The Duke had already told the Foreign
Generals, how they might expect the Queen
would resent their refusing to obey his Or-
ders, and had sent them the Letters trans-
mitted from the Ministers in *England* on that
Subject. Monsieur *Wilks*, who command-
ed

ed the *Saxon* Troops, who was the only one he had yet seen, since the sending of those Letters; and he told his Grace, ‘ That
 ‘ he could give no other Answer, than he
 ‘ did at first; that he expected every Day
 ‘ positive Orders from his Master’s Minister
 ‘ at *Utrecht*, that his Head was at Stake,
 ‘ and he must have a good Warrant for
 ‘ what he did.

On *July* the 7th, in the Morning, Monsieur *Villars* sent a Letter to the Duke, with Orders for the Surrender of *Dunkirk*; In this he tells him, ‘ That tho’, as a *French-*
 ‘ *man*, he ought to be griev’d at the Loss
 ‘ of so important a Place; yet he did not
 ‘ regret it, since it made so firm a Union
 ‘ between the two Nations. That he saw,
 ‘ by the Secretary’s Letter to the Marquiss
 ‘ of *Torcy*, that the Queen had taken her
 ‘ last Resolutions to finish the great Work
 ‘ of Peace with Firmness and Spirit; which
 ‘ had been so long obstructed by a malign-
 ‘ nant Party, and by the Self-Interest of
 ‘ some private Persons, as well as Princes:
 ‘ and that he found, by what was writ
 ‘ by the King’s Order to
 * *Monfr. Mesnager.* ‘ the Count of *St. John*, *
 ‘ that his Master had taken the same Reso-
 ‘ lutions, and would not be wanting in any
 ‘ Thing the Queen should desire. The
 ‘ Marechal concludes, with his Approba-
 ‘ tion of sending Troops from *England*, to
 ‘ take Possession of *Dunkirk*, and thinks it
 ‘ most

‘ most proper for the Interest of both Nations, that the Duke should stay at the Head of as great a Body of Men, as possible.

The Duke could not but think it, a little particular, that, when a Detachment was design’d to go from the Army to take Possession of *Dunkirk*, the Marechal sent him no Orders for its Surrender, but said, they were to go of Course to the Commander of that Place: And yet now, when he knew the Troops for that Service would be sent from *England*, he would dispatch those Orders immediately to the Camp; which indeed could be made the less Use of there, since the Duke neither knew, who commanded the Detachment, nor how to convey the Orders to him, if he had known.

Tho’, upon the Receipt of these Orders for the Delivery of *Dunkirk*, the Duke was now told, he had no more to do, than to declare the Suspension of Arms between *Great Britain* and *France*, and to withdraw in the best Manner he could; yet, since he expected every Moment my Lord *Strafford*, with fresh Instructions for his future Conduct, he was not willing to do either of them, till that Lord arriv’d. In the mean Time he sent Monsieur *Villars* Word, that he hop’d, the same Orders had been dispatch’d to *England*, since the Troops, design’d to take Possession of *Dunkirk*, were to go from thence.

On the 8th of *July*, the Prince of *Anhalt*, the *Prussian* General, waited upon the Duke, and told him, That the Night before, he had receiv'd a Courier from the King, his Master, in Answer to what he had writ, upon the first Proposal his Grace had made to him; the King's Answer was, ' That he ' was extremely surpriz'd at what the ' Queen desir'd, in Relation to the with- ' drawing his Troops from the rest of the ' Allies, and making a separate Peace: ' That he never had any Intimation of it ' from the Queen, and wonder'd such a ' Proposal should be made to his General, ' without his being first acquainted with it ' himself: That in the Queen's Speech, he ' did not find any Thing particular menti- ' on'd for him, but all left at large; That ' he was dependant upon the Empire; and, ' if he should separate from the Imperial ' Troops, in a Matter of this Consequence, ' it might be as fatal to him as what had ' happen'd to the Electors of *Bavaria* and ' *Cologne*: and therefore he hop'd, the Queen ' could not take it ill, if he kept his Troops ' with those of the Empire.

Monfieur *Bulou* (who had first gone to the other Army for Advice) told the Duke, the same Day, That, by his Instructions, he could not separate his Troops from the Allies, without particular Orders from his Master; and that, if he should, his Head must answer for it. The Duke of *Wirtemberg*

berg said, he had a Letter from the *Danish* Minister; but alledg'd, he could not withdraw his Troops, without Directions from the King.

July the 12th, early in the Morning, arriv'd an Express from Mr. Secretary *St. John*, with a Letter, dated *June* the 27th, containing another from the Marquis *de Torcy*, of *July* the 5th, ' giving an Account of the *French* King's agreeing to ' the Queen's Proposals, in Relation to ' *Dunkirk*. The Secretary, in his Letter, ' tells his Grace, That Sir *James Abercrombie* and Colonel *King*, had been, the ' Night before, dispatch'd to *Dunkirk*, ' to prepare every Thing for the Reception ' of the Queen's Troops, and for the Evacuation of that Place by the *French*; and, ' that they would inform his Grace of their ' Arrival there, and of their Proceedings ' in the Execution of Her Majesty's Commands: That Sir *John Leake* was gone to ' the *Downes*, where a considerable Squadron of Ships was assembled, and, he ' hop'd, that, in the very Beginning of ' the next Week, the Fleet and Forces ' would be ready to sail: The Earl of ' *Strafford's* going by the Way of *Holland*, ' instead of that of *Ostend*, as was at first design'd, would make him arrive at the ' Army somewhat later, than 'twere to be ' wish'd; and his Grace would, no doubt, be ' impatient to receive those Lights and In-

' formations for his Guidance, in this nice
 ' Conjunction of Affairs, which he was am-
 ' ply instructed to give him: That, upon
 ' hearing from Sir *James Abercrombie* and
 ' Colonel *King*, that the Orders for evacu-
 ' ating *Dunkirk*, were receiv'd by the Go-
 ' vernor, and that he was ready to admit
 ' the Queen's Troops into the Place; his
 ' Grace was, without losing a Moment, if
 ' he had not done it already, to declare a
 ' Suspension of Arms, and to withdraw
 ' with the *British* Troops, and such others
 ' as should obey his Orders, according to
 ' Her Majesty's Commands, which had
 ' been signify'd to him on the 26th. The
 ' Secretary desires his Grace would observe,
 ' that this Order was *Positive*; and he was
 ' commanded to explain the Reasons, upon
 ' which it was founded; and why no Case
 ' could possibly happen, in which Her
 ' Majesty would allow, that any other
 ' Measures should be taken. If my Lord
 ' *Strafford* brought his Grace Word, That
 ' the *Dutch* did absolutely agree to a Sus-
 ' pension of Arms, then this Order was
 ' proper; and *English* and *Dutch*, and all
 ' the other Allies, would retire toge-
 ' ther. If he brought his Grace Word,
 ' That they would absolutely refuse the
 ' Suspension, then this Order was necessary;
 ' since we were not in Circumstances to
 ' have the Law impos'd upon us. And
 ' lastly, if my Lord *Strafford* brought his
 ' Grace

‘ Grace an Account, That the States agreed to a Cessation of Arms conditionally, and under Restriction, either as to Time or Manner, Her Majesty must look upon such an Agreement to be more dangerous, than even a Refusal; since it could have no other Consequence, or Design, than to break the Queen’s Measures, by gaining of Time, and to make us lose the Opportunity of taking Possession of *Dunkirk*. The Secretary farther informs his Grace, That Mr. *Hill* was appointed to command the Troops that went over, and were to be in *Dunkirk*; and that Mr. *Sweet* had Orders to make no further Payment to any of the Foreign Troops, unless to such, as his Grace and my Lord *Strafford* should think proper, and deserving that Distinction at the Queen’s Hands.’

The Duke immediately dispatch’d Colonel *Lloyd* to go to *Dunkirk*, with the Orders, which had been sent from the *French* Court, for the Delivery of that Place, and gave the Colonel a Letter to Monsieur *Villars*, in which he acquaints the Marshal, of the two Officers being sent to *Dunkirk*; and since the Marshal had not inform’d him, that the Orders for the Surrender of the Town were sent to *England*, he desires his *Aid de Camp* might have Liberty to carry thither those, which he receiv’d from the Marechal on the 7th.

A little after the Colonel had been dispatch'd, an Express came from Monsieur *Villars*, with a Packet directed to the Duke, from the Colonels, that were arriv'd at *Dunkirk*. The Marshal tells his Grace, how well satisfy'd he was of his Master's Confidence in the Queen's Word, and that there should not be the least Delay, or Difficulty on his Side in surrendring the Town; but it seem'd reasonable to him, that the Day, both for the Delivery of the Town, and the Suspension of Arms, should be agreed upon between them; and he hop'd, his Grace would think so too. He adds, That he heard the Prince and General *Dopff* had been the Day before, to reconnoitre *Landrecy*; and, that his Grace must believe, that neither this Enterprize, nor any other, would be attempted, without all the Opposition it was possible for the King's Troops to give them; and he hop'd, the Duke, with the Forces under his Command (which must, by this Time have receiv'd Orders from their Masters) would leave him at full Liberty to act, or rather, to speak more properly, he believ'd, the Disturbers of the publick Quiet would not dare to trouble it any longer.

The two Colonels, in their Letter from *Dunkirk*, acquainted the Duke, That they had waited upon the Governor, who told them, that Monsieur *Voisin* had lately

ly inform'd him, That the King's Orders had been sent to Mareſchal *Villars* for delivering up *Dunkirk* to Her Maſteſty: but, as yet, thoſe Orders were not come to his Hands; and, until they were, he could not proceed to do any Buſineſs with the Colonels.

In the Evening, the Duke receiv'd another Letter from the Mareſchal to inform him, That no Orders but what his Grace received, had been ſent for the Delivery of *Dunkirk*, and to deſire him to appoint a Day when the Place ſhould be deliver'd up, and the Suſpenſion of Arms declar'd; and, to tell him, that he kept Colonel *Lloyd* at his Quarters, till he had his Grace's Answer. The Mareſchal ſays, he finds, by Letters, from Mr. *St. John*, that the Execution of both the one and the other, entirely depends upon his Grace.

The Foreign Generals continu'd, moſt of them, reſolute not to march: The *Saxon* General ſeem'd undetermin'd, and ſaid, he was in daily Expectation of Orders from his Maſter; Only *Monſieur Barner*, and *Monſieur Waleſ*, who ſeverally commanded the *Holſteiners* and the *Liege* Dragoons, told the Duke, That ſuch of their Troops, as were paid by the Queen, would obey the Orders he ſhould give them.

The same Evening the Lord *Strafford* arriv'd. And as his Grace had been so long impatient for his coming; so upon discoursing with him, he wish'd his Lordship had brought those Lights, which his Grace had so much Reason to expect.

Next Morning the Duke dispatch'd an Express to Monsieur *Villars*, to let him know, the Suspension of Arms only stuck at him: ' That he might see, by an enclosed Extract of a Letter from Mr. *St. John*, that it ought to follow the Declaration, the Governour of *Dunkirk* was ' to make of his being ready to deliver up ' the Town; and therefore desir'd, he ' would give Colonel *Lloyd* a Pass-port to ' make all the Haste he could to *Dunkirk*, to see what Dispositions were making there, for the Reception of the Queen's ' Troops; and that, as soon as ever he had ' an Account, that the Governor was ready to surrender it, he would immediately declare a Suspension of Arms; and ' the Marshal had nothing to do, but to ' name the Day, and inform him of it. ' His Grace adds, That my Lord *Strafford* ' arriv'd the Night before, and gave him ' Hopes, that Things were now in a fair ' Way of being adjusted for the Good of ' the Common Cause.

On the 14th of *July*, the Duke receiv'd and Account from Monsieur *Villars*, ' That ' he had sent Colonel *Lloyd* forwrrds to ' *Dunkirk*,

Dunkirk, with all the necessary Orders
 for its Surrender, and that his Grace
 might reckon upon it as a Thing done.
 He tells the Duke, That as it was a
 great Advantage to them, not to be o-
 blig'd to fight against the bravest and
 boldest of their Enemies, so it was of Im-
 portance to them, to know the Number
 of Enemies they had left; and therefore
 he desired to know from his Grace, what
 Troops, and what Generals would obey
 his Orders; because, the first Attempt
 the Enemy made, he would not lose one
 Moment to meet them: That the King
 had given him Liberty to fight, of which
 nothing but the Negotiations of Peace
 had hitherto depriv'd him, and of which
 his Army was eager to take the Advan-
 tage: That he believ'd, every Thing
 would be concluded, if the Troops un-
 der his Grace's Command would follow
 his Orders. He desir'd, his Grace would
 not think it an indiscreet Curiosity, that
 he beg'd some Light might be given him
 in this Affair.

In the mean Time Prince Eugene sent the
 Duke Word, by an *Aid de Camp*, that he
 intended to march on the 16th. The next
 Morning, the Duke sent to let the Prince
 know, that he was surpriz'd at his Message,
 there having not been the least previous
 Concert with him, nor any Mention made,
 which Way, or on what Design he was to
 march;

march; and, therefore, he could not resolve to march with him; much less could the Prince expect any Assistance from the Queen's Army, in any Design thus undertaken: That he thought fit to acquaint him of this before-hand, that he might take his Measures accordingly, and not attribute to his Grace any Misfortune, which might happen to him. The Duke likewise let him know, that when he march'd, he himself should be oblig'd to take the best Care he could for the Security of the Queen's Troops, and to change his Camp, in order to it.

The same Morning the Duke sent to Monsieur *Villars*, to acquaint him, ' That, ' at present, 'twas impossible for him to resolve his Question; but the next Day, he believ'd he could give a satisfactory Answer: That as to the Suspension, he only waited for the Account from *Dunkirk*; but that, on his Side, it had its Effect already, since he had told the Prince and the Deputies, that, if they went upon any new Attempt, he could give them no Manner of Assistance with the Army of the Queen.

At Noon, Colonel *Lloyd* arriv'd from *Dunkirk*, with an Account, That the Governour was ready, in Obedience to the King's Orders, to concert Measures with the Officers sent thither for that Purpose, in order to evacuate the Place, and receive

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Her Majesty's Troops. The Colonel brought a Letter at the same Time from Monsieur *Villars*, in which the Marshal tells the Duke, ' That since every Thing was ready for the ' Surrender of *Dunkirk*, the King had com- ' manded him to declare a Suspension of ' Arms on the 18th, believing, the Town ' would be evacuated by that Time; and, ' if his Grace thought fit, he might de- ' clare it on the same Day: That he had ' Advice, Prince *Eugene* was to march to ' Morrow; and his Grace would easily see, ' that, if the Attempt was upon *Landrecy*, ' his Army would be in the Marechal's ' Way, when he march'd towards that ' Place: He calls this a Conjunction *bien* ' *vive*; and he thinks, he says, the *Dutch* ' Army very bold, if they should dare to ' despise the Alliance and Kindness of the ' Queen; and the Imperialists very un- ' grateful, for the great Assistance and Ad- ' vantages they have had from *England*. ' He repeats again his Desires to know, ' what Troops would stay with his Grace, ' tho' he had the Satisfaction to find, that ' they were eas'd of their most dangerous ' Enemies, since the brave *English* were no ' longer so.

On the 16th, Prince *Eugene*, according to the Resolution he had taken, march'd; and all the Foreign Troops in the Queen's Pay, except the *Holsteiners* and *Wallef's* Dragoons, march'd with him. The Ge-

nerals of those Troops came to take Leave of the Duke with great Civility; express'd much Concern for the Separation, and hoped, some happy Conjunction would soon unite them again. The Duke had not seen the Deputies for some Time; and the Prince had not been with him a Fortnight. The Auxiliaries, that join'd the Prince, were posted between the *English* Horse and Foot; which were now left at a great Distance from each other; and under this ill Situation might, in a few Hours, have been fallen upon with great Success, had the Mareschal thought fit to make use of the Advantage, which the Prince's March put into his Hands. In the mean Time the Prince's Army, even when separated from the *English*, was still numerous enough, to be under no Apprehensions from the *French*.

The Duke immediately sent an Account of Prince *Eugene's* March, and of the Troops, which went with him, to Monsieur *Villars*, telling him, ' That hitherto he had been in Doubt, what Course the
' Generals of the Foreign Troops would
' take, since there was Room to believe,
' that some of them had Orders to act,
' more conformably to the Stipulations
' made with their Masters: That, to shew
' our Sincerity, he had made a Proposal to
' take some Battalions and Squadrons, which
' were into the Joint-Pay, in the Sole Pay of
' the Queen: That he must put him again

in

‘ in Mind, that the Suspension of Arms, on
 ‘ his Side, had its Effect, by the Separati-
 ‘ on he had made of the Queen’s Troops,
 ‘ with all the Artillery, from those of
 ‘ Prince *Eugene*, and by his Declaration of
 ‘ not giving them any Assistance. Besides
 ‘ which, the Payment of the Foreign
 ‘ Troops was stopt, and consequently all
 ‘ the Burthen of the War would lie upon
 ‘ the *Dutch*, which they would not long
 ‘ be able to support: That he should make
 ‘ a Movement the next Day, and should
 ‘ be ready to declare the Suspension, at the
 ‘ Time he had mentioned.

Monfieur *Villars* return’d an Answer to
 this immediately, and desir’d to know of
 the Duke, ‘ what Way he design’d to
 ‘ march, and for that Reason he would stay
 ‘ another Day in his Camp: That he look-
 ‘ ed upon his Grace now, as no longer an
 ‘ Enemy; and, therefore, that his Grace
 ‘ might encamp, if he thought it proper,
 ‘ in any of the King’s Territories; the
 ‘ *Dutch* being in Possession of most of the
 ‘ Towns in *Flanders*, which they would
 ‘ never have been, had the Generals,
 ‘ which preceded his Grace, had a greater
 ‘ Regard to the Interests of their Queen
 ‘ and Country. He added, That in this
 ‘ critical Juncture, he thought it would be
 ‘ highly expedient, that he might confer
 ‘ with his Grace and my Lord *Strafford*,
 ‘ and

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‘ and propos’d an Interview between his
‘ Camp, and *Cateau Cambresis*.

The Duke receiv’d another Letter this
Day, much to the same Purpose ; besides
which, the Mareschal acquaints him,
‘ That, since his Grace judg’d it proper,
‘ he would to Morrow, declare the Suspen-
‘ sion of Arms through all his Army ; sup-
‘ posing, that his Grace would do the
‘ same through his : That he thought this
‘ Declaration by Sound of Trumpet would
‘ be sufficient, without the Exchange of
‘ Instruments : however, if his Grace lik-
‘ ed the latter Method better, he was rea-
‘ dy to comply with it.

The Duke, being willing to lose no
Time, and judging it best for the Securi-
ty of his Troops, march’d on the 17th ;
and the Rout he gave out he would take
was to *Warneton*, on the *Lys*, where they
might subsist equally on the Chatellanies
of *Lisle* and *Ipres*. While the Army halt-
ed, he, according to his Instructions, or-
dered the Cessation of Arms to be declar’d,
and, in the Evening, an Express brought
an Account from the *French* Camp, that
the like was done there.

The same Day he sent a Letter to the
Marshal, to acquaint him ‘ of his Design
‘ of marching to some Place between *Lisle*
‘ and *Ipres*, and of the great Satisfaction,
‘ he should have in an Interview with him ;
‘ but, that at present he thought it would
make

‘ make a great deal of Noise, and give but
‘ too much Colour to those, who had now
‘ none at all, to justify their Conduct.’ The
Duke further inform’d him of his sending
Word to the Foreign Generals, that he
had declar’d a Cessation of Arms; and, that
if they would make any Use of it, they had
nothing to do, but to rejoin him.

At Night, the Duke gave an Account
of all these Proceedings to the Secretary,
‘ and desir’d to have the Queen’s positive
‘ Orders, how he was to dispose of his
‘ small Body of Troops, and of the Artille-
‘ ry; whether he should go towards *Dun-*
‘ *kirk*, or *Ghent*; if to the Former, what
‘ was to be done with the Artillery Stores,
‘ &c. and with the Troops in the Latter,
‘ which were a Battalion in the Town, and
‘ five Hundred detach’d Men in the Cita-
‘ del. The Duke left him to consider, in
‘ what Manner we should be look’d upon
‘ there, if any Misfortune should happen
‘ to the Allies, after our separating from
‘ them: And that he might judge of the
‘ Inclinations of the City of *Ghent*, by the
‘ Grand Bailiff’s sending to Prince *Eugene*,
‘ to know, how he should govern himself
‘ in this difficult Conjunction. That he
‘ heard the like from other Places, and
‘ submitted it to the Queen, whether it
‘ might not be proper, to put some more
‘ Troops into *Dunkirk*; since ’twas the
common

‘ common Report, that no more than four
 ‘ Battalions were sent from *England*. His
 ‘ Grace could not but take Notice to the
 ‘ Secretary, that he was very much sur-
 ‘ priz’d to find, by his Discourse with my
 ‘ Lord *Strafford*, that the Report of his
 ‘ having shewn to Prince *Eugene* and the
 ‘ Deputies, his Orders to undertake no-
 ‘ thing, had gain’d Belief in *England*: That,
 ‘ if he pleas’d to cast his Eye upon his Let-
 ‘ ters, of the 28th and 29th of *May*, and
 ‘ 4th of *June*, he would see the Whole of
 ‘ what his Grace had said on that Occasion;
 ‘ and therefore hop’d, he would do him
 ‘ the Justice to represent this in such a Man-
 ‘ ner to the Queen, that a Story so ground-
 ‘ less might make no Impression on Her
 ‘ Majesty, to whose Commands he should
 ‘ ever pay the exactest Obedience. Ano-
 ‘ ther Thing the Duke could not but ob-
 ‘ serve to him, that the Conduct of the Fo-
 ‘ reign Generals was exactly answerable to
 ‘ what he foresaw long before, as the Se-
 ‘ cretary might find, by some of his for-
 ‘ mer Letters; and he could assure him,
 ‘ it was publickly talk’d of in the Camp,
 ‘ before he had intimated it to Monsieur
 ‘ *Villars*; and, as he knew, the Marshal
 ‘ had too good Intelligence to be ignorant
 ‘ of it, he thought it most agreeable to the
 ‘ Confidence recommended to them, not to
 ‘ conceal from him, what he must have
 ‘ known from other Hands.

Upon

Upon the March we made the 18th, my Lord *Strafford*, and some of our Officers being desirous to pass thro' *Bouchain*, were told at the Gates, that the Commandant had positive Orders to let no *Englishman* into the Town: And the Commandant, being sent to, confirm'd it and deny'd them Admittance. When we came near *Douay*, the same Thing happen'd there, with a little more Aggravation, tho' the Queen had large Stores and a Hospital there; nay it was with great Difficulty the Commandant could be prevail'd upon, to let the Corps of Colonel *Haro* in, to be buried. Upon this the Duke (since the Queen had left it to him to act in the present Circumstances, as he should think it most convenient, and most safe) thought it was Time to provide, as well for the Security of the Troops he had with him, as of those in the Town and Citadel of *Ghent*, where we had likewise our Artillery-Stores; and therefore he alter'd his Rout, and march'd towards that Place.

This gave such an Alarm to Prince *Eugene* and the Deputies, that they thought fit, on the 19th, to send Count *Nassau* to the Duke, with a Memorial *not Sign'd*, ' To represent
' to him in the most convincing Manner,
' that, after the Excuses made by the Lord
' *Albemarle*, the Day before, at *Bouchain*,
' they were extremely dissatisfy'd to hear
' by the publick Report, that the Com-
' mandant of *Douay* had likewise refus'd
No. XVI. Y y ' to

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‘ to admit some of the *English* Officers, and
 ‘ to let out the Undertakers for the Queen’s
 ‘ Magazines. That they were very much
 ‘ mortify’d at the extraordinary Conduct
 ‘ of those two Commandants; and assur’d
 ‘ his Grace, they had absolutely no Orders
 ‘ for so doing, directly, or indirectly; and
 ‘ that they, the Deputies, not only disa-
 ‘ vow’d their Proceedings, but would give
 ‘ them such a Reprimand, as they deser-
 ‘ ved: That they were assur’d, my Lord
 ‘ Duke was satisfy’d with the Declaration
 ‘ made by the Lord *Albemarle*; but, how-
 ‘ ever, as the World might be inclin’d to
 ‘ interpret these Accidents to their Disad-
 ‘ vantage, the Deputies thought fit to re-
 ‘ new their Protections, by Count *Nassau*,
 ‘ that they were so far from giving any
 ‘ Hindrance to the March of the *English*
 ‘ Troops, that they have done, and always
 ‘ will do, every Thing that lies in their
 ‘ Power, to facilitate it, as well as what
 ‘ regards the Subsistence of those Forces;
 ‘ That therefore they assure and promise
 ‘ his Grace, that there should be full Li-
 ‘ berty given him, to have his Bread from
 ‘ those Towns, where the Magazines were:
 ‘ That, as soon as his Grace had march’d,
 ‘ they sent Orders to all the Magistrates
 ‘ of the *Chatellenies*, to deliver out Forage
 ‘ in the Place, where he should encamp:
 ‘ That, as soon as ever they heard of the
 ‘ Inconvenience which had happen’d at
 ‘ *Bouchain*,

‘ *Bouchain*, they gave Orders, by the Lord
 ‘ *Albemarle*, to all the Places upon the *Lys*
 ‘ and the *Scheld*, to prevent the like for
 ‘ the future; and that, after having heard
 ‘ of what pass’d at *Douay*, they had sent
 ‘ Directions for the Magazines, Baggage,
 ‘ &c. to have the Liberty of following
 ‘ the Army: That all these are incontestable
 ‘ Proofs, that they have omitted nothing
 ‘ which might be of any Assistance
 ‘ to him: That they should always continue
 ‘ in the same Opinion; and they hoped
 ‘ that those Accidents would not be
 ‘ imputed to them, which they had no
 ‘ Share in, but happen’d rather by Chance,
 ‘ and thro’ the Fault of the Commandants;
 ‘ and that no ill Intrepretations should be
 ‘ suffer’d to be made, to exasperate the
 ‘ the Spirits of both Nations, which was
 ‘ the Thing in the World they labour’d
 ‘ to prevent. That tho’ his Grace had
 ‘ made no Complaint of this Matter, they
 ‘ would not lose one Moment to represent
 ‘ to him the Truth of it; and so prevent
 ‘ any Dissatisfaction it might create, before
 ‘ he had a true State of the Case.

As soon as Count *Nassau* was gone,
 Count *Hompesch*, Governor of *Douay* came,
 and assur’d the Duke, that the Commandant
 of that Place had no Orders from him,
 to refuse our Officers Admittance into the
 Town. He examin’d those Officers, about
 the Circumstances of the Fact: The Count

march'd with us the next Day to *Fierival*, and had by that Means an Opportunity to see, what we were doing, and to frame some Conjecture of our future Designs.

The Duke, notwithstanding all the Apologies and Excuses, which had been made to him, could not believe, the Commandants would have dar'd to make such a Step, unless they had express Orders for it. He was the more perswaded of this, because, when the Deputies first heard of his Design to withdraw the Queen's Troops, they could not forbear saying, that they hop'd he did not intend to march through any of their Towns; and there was little Room to doubt, whether those Orders were general, since, after the presenting this Memorial, the same Difficulties happen'd at *Tournay*, *Audenard*, and *Lisse*, as had at *Bouchain*, and *Douay*. The Usage Captain *Hart* met with, was very extraordinary, and must not be omitted: he was sent Express to *England* by the Duke, on the 17th; when he came to *Ha'pre*, the *Imperialists* would not let him through, it was Night, they told him, and they could not examine him then: Upon which he was forc'd to return, and set out again next Morning. At *Courtray*, he took a Guide to conduct him to *Bruges*, and, when he thought he was at the Gates of that City, he found himself at *Petteghem*, which was eight Leagues out of the Way: And the
Guide

Guide confels'd, he had done this by his Master's Order. At *Bruges*, after he had waited Two Hours at the Gate, the Burgomaster sent him Word, he would not admit him; at last the Gate was open'd, but the Burgomaster took Care to trifle away Two or Three Hours, before the Captain could get any Horses.

The Duke's Design was to pass the *Lys*, and post himself before the Canal of *Bruges*; A Letter he had receiv'd the Day before from the Secretary renew'd the Queen's Directions to him, to act as he should judge most proper, and this seem'd to be the most convenient Situation for him, to receive and execute such further Orders, as Her Majesty should think to give him, as well in regard to other Points relating to Her Service, as to the City of *Bruges*, where some Things had lately pass'd, very little consistent with the Respect, they ow'd to the Queen. For some of the Magistrates had apply'd to the Council of State, and desir'd they would put them in a Condition, to secure themselves against their *Enemies*, the *English*. The Council referr'd the Matter to Prince *Eugene*, and he writ them a Letter on the 12th from *Haspre*, that he had already been considering, how he might put a sufficient Garrison into that Place. Some Deputies from *Ghent* had been with the Council of State upon the same Errand, and they were sent back, as well

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well as those of *Bruges*, with strict Orders to be upon their Guard. At the same Time, the Duke was inform'd, that a Battalion of *Metral*, which were *Swiss*, had lately been sent from *Bouchain* to *Ghent*; and that the *Dutch* so far resented the Conduct of Messieurs *Barner* and *Walef*, who march'd with him, that they turn'd them out of their Posts of Major-Generals. Before the Duke left this Camp, Colonel *King* brought him the News, that the Queen's Troops were entirely in Possession of *Dunkirk*, and the Forts belonging to it.

On the 23d, the Duke went to *Ghent*, and had all the Civilities paid him, which could be expected from the Magistrates; and on the 25th he encamp'd, with the Right on the Canal of *Bruges*, and the Left upon the *Lys*, within half a League of *Ghent*; by which he secur'd to himself that City, and was at Hand to throw some Troops into *Bruges*, and to send such a Reinforcement, as should be thought necessary for *Dunkirk*. Brigadier *Sutton*, who went to *Bruges*, sent the Duke an Account, how well dispos'd he found the Chief Magistrates of that Town, to do any Thing his Grace should desire, and that they would make no Difficulty of allowing a free Passage to any of our Troops through the Town, or receiving what Garrison he should think proper to send them.

On

On the 26th his Grace receiv'd, by an Express, from my Lord *Bolingbroke*, Secretary of State, a Letter of the 11th of *July*. My Lord tells him, ' That he is particularly directed by the Queen, to begin ' his Dispatch by acquainting his Grace, ' that no Service could be more agreeable ' to Her, than that, which he has done ' Her, and his Country, in this nice Con- ' juncture of Affairs. That She thanks ' him for it, and that She will never forget ' the exact Obedience, which he had paid ' to Her Orders, nor the admirable Patience ' and Temper, which he had shewn in so ' uneasy a Situation. That the Answer his ' Grace had sent to Prince *Eugene* on the ' 17th, was exactly as the Queen would ' have wish'd it; and Her Majesty thought, ' nothing could set the unjustifiable Pro- ' ceedings of the Allies in a stronger Light. ' That it had been Matter of the utmost ' Concern to the Queen, to observe the ' *Imperialists*, and the *States* resolv'd upon ' such Extremities. She had long courted ' them to come into more reasonable Mea- ' sures; and there was no Room to doubt, ' but they might, by reviving the Confe- ' rences at *Utrecht*, and consenting to a Ces- ' sation, whilst *Dunkirk* was in our Hands, ' obtain for the whole Confederacy ample ' Satisfaction in all their Pretensions: But ' since their Fate hung upon them, and ' they would venture all to *force* the Queen, ' rather

' rather than secure all by complying with
 ' Her, let the Consequences be what they
 ' will, the Blame could never be laid up-
 ' on Her. Her Majesty would support
 ' what She had undertaken; and he prays
 ' God, they do not find Reason to repent
 ' their rash Counsels, and inflexible Obsti-
 ' nacy. That the Queen had consider'd,
 ' what his Grace had propos'd concerning
 ' the Retreat, which he should make with
 ' the small Body of Troops, now remain-
 ' ing under his Command: and She thought
 ' it for many Reasons most adviseable, that
 ' his Grace should march to *Dunkirk*, unless
 ' some Objection, unforeseen in *England*,
 ' might arise. There his Grace might con-
 ' tinue for some Time, and, as soon as they
 ' had Notice of his bending that Way,
 ' Measures would be taken for supporting
 ' him there, and for supplying whatever
 ' the Troops might have Occasion for. The
 ' present Garrison in the Town, Citadel
 ' and Forts of *Dunkirk*, were certainly too
 ' weak; and besides, they should have Oc-
 ' casion to withdraw the *Marines*, who
 ' made near a third-Part of the Number of
 ' Men, who went with Mr. *Hill*. 'Twas
 ' likewise necessary, the Queen should have
 ' at that Place an Artillery of Her own,
 ' with Stores, Gunners, &c. These Ends
 ' would be all much better, much sooner,
 ' and much cheaper answer'd by his Grace's
 ' moving to *Dunkirk*, than any other Way;
 ' and

‘ and therefore he would please to lose no
 ‘ Time in putting this in Execution, un-
 ‘ less, as was said above, some Objection
 ‘ appear’d to his Grace, which they were
 ‘ not appriz’d of. A Detachment of the
 ‘ Queen’s Forces being still in *Ghent*, to-
 ‘ gether with a Quantity of Stores. Her
 ‘ Majesty would have his Grace withdraw
 ‘ both the one and the other from thence;
 ‘ and he would please to secure, in the first
 ‘ Place, that Point. Her Majesty did not
 ‘ perceive any great Difficulty at present
 ‘ in it: Time might perhaps produce some;
 ‘ and, in our Circumstances, as little as pos-
 ‘ sible should be left to Hazard. His Grace,
 ‘ at the same Time He resolv’d to march
 ‘ to *Dunkirk*, was to communicate his De-
 ‘ sign to Monsieur *Villars*, to concert with
 ‘ him whatever might be necessary, either
 ‘ for the Ease of the Country, or in other
 ‘ Respects; and to promise him, in Her
 ‘ Majesty’s Name, full Satisfaction, for
 ‘ whatever the Queen’s Forces should take
 ‘ of the Subjects of *France*. In his (the
 ‘ Secretary’s) Dispatch to Monsieur *Torcy*,
 ‘ this Particular would be mention’d. His
 ‘ Grace need be under no Sort of Concern
 ‘ about the foolish Lye, which the *Dutch*
 ‘ broach’d, and which their Emissaries a-
 ‘ broad, and their Allies there, affected to
 ‘ disperse. The Queen commanded him
 ‘ to say, She never depended on any Re-
 ‘ lations of his Grace’s Conduct, but his

‘ own; and, that She desir’d, he
 ‘ would be perswaded, this Story gain’d
 ‘ no Belief with Her. That Care would
 ‘ be taken to answer all such Pay, as he
 ‘ should have pleas’d to order; and Her
 ‘ Majesty would have his Grace take No-
 ‘ tice to *Walef*, how well satisfy’d She was
 ‘ with his Behaviour, and assure him, in
 ‘ all Events, of Her Protection.

This Morning an Account came from *Brussels*, of the entire Defeat of that Body of Troops, commanded by the Lord *Albemarle* at *Denain*.

These Circumstances, and the discretionary Power, which the Queen was pleas’d to entrust the Duke with, made him defer the Proceeding any further in the Execution of Her Majesty’s last Orders, till he should know, whether they thought fit to take any new Resolutions thereupon; and he was of Opinion, there were possibly some Points, which might deserve to be consider’d. For if we had entirely evacuated *Ghent*, there were then two *Dutch* Battalions there, which ’tis natural to believe, would have immediately possess’d themselves both of the Town and Citadel; and the Duke doubted, whether this was agreeable to Her Majesty’s Intentions. If the Queen resolv’d to keep a Footing in this Country, his Opinion was, that, when a competent Number of Battalions were sent to *Dunkirk*, four might be put into *Bruges*,
 and

and the rest into *Ghent*, in both which Places there would be some Artillery, and the Horse might be posted behind the Canal of *Bruges*.

The next Day a Trumpet came from Monsieur *Villars*: The Mareschal in his Letter tells the Duke, ' That the Enemy ' had been made sensible, that the Departure of the brave *English* was not at all ' happy for them; since the Queen's ' Troops no sooner left the Allies, than the ' Misfortune happen'd to them, which his ' Grace would read in the enclos'd: containing a particular Account of the Defeat of the Lord *Albemarle's* Troops, and of his being taken Prisoner at *Denain*.

The Lord *Albemarle* himself, wrote to the Duke on this Occasion, *July* the 29th, desiring his Grace's good Offices, that, by the means of them, he might be excus'd from being carry'd into *France*, and might, either be exchange'd for one of the *French* Generals in *England*, or permitted to go with his Family to *Vorst*, or *Aix la Chapelle*.

The Duke wrote, the next Day, to Monsieur *Villars*, and recommended the Lord *Albemarle* to him; and again, in his Letter of the 4th: wherein also he thanks him, for the Orders he had sent to the *French* Intendants, to facilitate the March of our Troops to *Dunkirk*.

Count *d'Urfel* had been at *Ghent*, to wait upon the Duke from the Council of State,

and, by Virtue of his Commission, solicited the sparing the Country, as much as might be. The Duke, tho' he was persuaded, that it would be as agreeable to the Queen's Intentions, as to his own Inclinations, to make the Burthen as light as possible, to the People, who had, of late, suffer'd so much: Yet thought it a piece of Justice due to Her Majesty's Troops, when the Country propos'd to deliver the Forage, to insist on the same quantity, proportionable to the number of Troops, as was furnish'd in the late King's Time, when Prince *Vaudemont* commanded: Especially, since this Charge would soon diminish, by his sending six Battalions to *Dunkirk*, and four or five to *Bruges*.

The next Day a Messenger arriv'd from the Lord *olingbroke*: In this Letter of *July* the 18th, his Lordship inform'd the Duke, That, by Her Majesty's Command, he had express'd to him, as well as he could, in his Letter of the 11th, Her intire Approbation of his Grace's Conduct, in every thing he had then done: He was now directed to acquaint him, That She was equally satisfy'd with the Measures he had since taken, and to repeat Her Thanks to him, in Terms suitable to the Service, he had perform'd; but they would be such, as he confess'd, he was at a Loss to find. He was particularly commanded to say, That, tho the Orders,

ders, which he transmitted to his Grace
in his last, did appear to Her Majesty, at
that time, to be the most proper that
could be given him; the Methods he had
pursu'd, were so rightly judg'd, and so
well adapted to the present Conjunction
of Affairs, that they answer'd in every
Point, what She would have wish'd. He
was further to say, That She was unwill-
ing to restrain his Grace by particular
and positive Instructions, who made use of
the discretionary Power given him, so
much to her Honour, and the Good of
Her Service. The News of *Dunkirk's*
being in our Hands, could not have been
follow'd by any more agreeable, than that
of his Grace's having directed his March
towards *Ghent*: As by the Possession of
the former Place, we should treat with
the *French* under great Advantage; so
by the Steps which he had taken for secu-
ring the latter, the *Dutch* and *Imperialists*
would be brought to a more decent way
of Behaviour to the Queen, than they
had hitherto been in. Her Majesty re-
commended to his Grace, in general, the
securing to himself the possession of *Ghent*,
as long as might be thought necessary;
as also the reinforcing the Garrison of
Dunkirk, and the furnishing that Place
with what Stores he might have to spare,
and which the Garrison might be in want
of. The Secretary likewise acquainted
his

his Grace, of a Letter the Marquis of
 Torcy had dispatch'd to him, upon recei-
 ving the News of the Earl of *Albemarle's*
 Defeat at *Denain*: in which the *French*
 Minister took notice of the Advantage,
 which Her Majesty had at this time over
 the *Dutch*; and insinuated, That She
 might give the Law to those People, pro-
 vided She made the right Use of *Ghent*
 and *Kruges*, which his Grace was in pos-
 session of. The Secretary's Answer to
 that part of the Marquis's Letter, by Her
 Majesty's Command was no more than this:
 That the Queen would take all the Mea-
 sures, that were consistent with Justice and
 with Honour, to overcome the Obstinacy
 of her Allies, and to oblige them, to con-
 sent to a General Peace; and that alrea-
 dy he had writ to his Grace to be upon
 his Guard and to secure the possession of
 the Posts, he was now Master of. His
 Grace would easily perceive the Drift of
 Monsieur *Torcy's* Proposition, and the
 Meaning of his Answer. It was the In-
 terest of the *French*, and there were, per-
 haps, some of Her Majesty's Subjects so
 unhappy, as to think it theirs too, that
 the Queen should join Her Forces with
 those of *France*, and in that manner give
 the Law to the Confederates; but Her
 Majesty's Conduct would continue to the
 Last, what it had been from the First, e-
 qually Just, and equally Firm to all Par-
 ties,

‘ ties, towards Friends, as well as Enemies.
‘ She could not think of co-operating with
‘ the Latter, to distress the Former, how
‘ great soever the Provocation, She had re-
‘ ceiv’d from these might have been; and
‘ She was willing to hope, that at last, they
‘ would see their Error, and concur with
‘ Her Majesty, from whom they could ne-
‘ ver seperate, but to their own Disadvan-
‘ tage.

The Duke return’d an Answer to the Se-
cretary on the 4th, and assur’d him, ‘ That
‘ nothing could be more acceptable to him,
‘ than the Account his Lordship gave him
‘ of the Queen’s Approbation of his past
‘ Conduct; future Obedience was the best
‘ return he could make, which should be
‘ constantly paid to Her Majesty’s Com-
‘ mands, with all the exactness in his Pow-
‘ er. He acquainted his Lordship of the
‘ six Battalions he had order’d for Mr. *Hill*,
‘ with the Artillery most proper for his
‘ Use, and Stores proportionable, which
‘ were to begin their March the next Morn-
‘ ing; and that this Day he had sent Bri-
‘ gadier *Sutton*, with four Battalions to *Bru-*
‘ *ges*; which last Affair he had not con-
‘ certed with the Courcel of State, not
‘ thinking such a Step consistent with the
‘ Queen’s Honour, considering the Usage,
‘ we had of late met with in this Country.
‘ These Ten Battalions being thus dispos’d
‘ of, the Duke did not conceive it could be
‘ for

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‘ for Her Majesty’s Service, that he should
 ‘ keep the Field any longer, with the small
 ‘ Corps that would remain: So that he in-
 ‘ tended to go with the rest of the Foot, in-
 ‘ to *Ghent*, and to Post the Horse on the o-
 ‘ ther Side of the Canal. He return’d his
 ‘ Thanks to his Lordship, for what he had
 ‘ communicated to him of Monsieur *Torcy*’s
 ‘ Letter; Monsieur *Villars*, he said, had
 ‘ writ to him much in the same Strain: His
 ‘ Lordship’s Answer was agreeable to the
 ‘ Justice and Honour, which had hitherto
 ‘ been the Rules by which the Queen had
 ‘ proceeded, and when rightly understood,
 ‘ might possibly prove a more powerful
 ‘ Argument, than any which had yet been
 ‘ us’d, to induce the Confederates to con-
 ‘ cur with Her Majesty, in the Measures she
 ‘ was taking for their Good.

The next Day, the Duke receiv’d ano-
 ther Letter from his Lordship, of *July* the
 22d, to tell him, ‘ That the Situation he
 ‘ was now in, answer’d in every respect,
 ‘ Her Majesty’s Views. The keeping his
 ‘ Hold of *Ghent* and *Bruges*, at the same
 ‘ time it secures the Queen’s Troops from
 ‘ any Insult, and her Stores from Embez-
 ‘ zlement, would have a due Effect on the
 ‘ Conduct of her Allies: And the Commu-
 ‘ nication, which he preserv’d with *Dun-*
 ‘ *kirk*, would enable him to put that Gar-
 ‘ rison into a Condition of fearing no Disor-
 ‘ der from within, nor Attempt from with-
 ‘ out.

out. His Grace might therefore be af-
 fur'd, that the Queen had no Thoughts
 of his purfuing Orders, which were gi-
 ven on a Suppofition, that he might have
 no Party left to take, but that of retiring
 towards the Sea. His Conduct had im-
 prov'd Her Views; and Her Majefty
 thought of nothing elfe now, but secur-
 ing *Ghent*, *Bruges*, and *Dunkirk*, which
 his Grace would please to do in the beft
 Manner, which his Strength, and the
 Circumftances he was in, would allow
 of. His Lordfhip adds, That he might
 depend upon it, that the Encouragement,
 which he gave to the *Holftainers*, and to
Walef's Dragoons, fhould be made good
 to them.

The fame Day Mr. *Sutton*, with the Four
 Battalions, was receiv'd into *Bruges*, to the
 great Satisfaction of the Inhabitants, who
 were in Hopes that the Queen's Protection
 would preferve them from another Yoke
 they apprehended, and deliver them from
 the Oppreffion they had lain under, for
 fome Years paft, by their giving Winter
 Quarters to the *Danes*.

On the 17th, a Trumpet came from
 Monsieur *Villars*; the Occafion of fending
 him was, the Marefchal faid, That he
 found, by the Difcourfe of the principal
 Officers, who had been taken Prifoners in
 the laft Action, That, in *Holland*, they
 talk'd in a very fanguin Manner, of a

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Revo-

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‘ Revolution ready to happen in *England*,
 ‘ by a design’d *Attentat*: That the Animo-
 ‘ sity among the Confederates, was as great
 ‘ against *England*, as against *France*; and
 ‘ that he thought himself oblig’d to send
 ‘ this Advice, however general, or of how
 ‘ little Consequence soever it might be. In
 a Letter afterwards, of *September* the 12th,
 the Mareschal repeated the same Intelli-
 gence; adding, ‘ That Mr. *Hompesch*, one
 ‘ of the best reputed Generals among the
 ‘ Allies, had said, That, in *Holland*, they
 ‘ look’d upon this Revolution as certain’.
 And the Mareschal was pleas’d further to
 say, tho’ without letting the Duke into the
 Grounds of his Opinion, ‘ That there was
 ‘ no good *Frenchman* but ought to dread it.

Tho’ the Duke thought, the Subject of
 these Letters did not require any great At-
 tention, being rather a Strain of fallacious
 Reasoning, by which our Neighbours had
 lately been misled, than agreeable to the
 least Appearance, either of Truth or Pro-
 bability; yet, to shew he neglected nothing,
 which could possibly be for Her Majesty’s
 Interest, he sent a Copy of them, by a Mes-
 senger, to the Secretary. The Duke en-
 clos’d an Account, how he had expostula-
 ted with Monsieur *Bulou*, upon a certain
 Information he had, that several Deserters
 from the Queen’s Service, were entertain’d
 among the Troops of that General; and,
 he hop’d, Her Majesty wou’d please to ap-
 prove

prove of what he had writ. As to what pass'd in the Confederate Camp, the Duke cou'd give the Secretary no Light into it, there being then no Correspondence between his Grace, and the Foreign Generals; and Prince *Eugene* having thought fit, expressly to forbid the Director of the Posts sending his Grace the least Intelligence of what pass'd in his Army.

The Duke's Conduct in possessing himself of *Ghent* and *Bruges*, was so agreeable to Her Majesty, and thought to be so important a Service, that he receiv'd a Compliment upon it, from the Lord Treasurer, in these Words.

Aug. 5. 1712.

My LORD,

NO Pen, nor Tongue, is able to express the great Pleasure I took, in your Grace's Successes, it was a very great Satisfaction to see so much done for the Public, to see such an Example of steady Conduct, in so great a Nobleman, and so courageous a Heart, is what has made you envy'd by Some, dreaded by your Enemies, and applauded by all Men of Knowledge and Understanding. Your Grace's March to *Ghent*, &c. is a *Coup de Maître*, it is own'd to be so in *France* and *Holland*: And I must own I take a double Pleasure in it, because it is done by the Duke of *Ormond*, to whose Per-

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son

‘ son I have so entire a Friendship, and in
 ‘ whose Success I take so particular an In-
 ‘ terest. Monsieur *Torcy* wrote a very just
 ‘ Compliment on the Affair of *Denain*,
 ‘ That the Allies might now see, what
 ‘ they had lost by Her Majesty’s withdraw-
 ‘ ing Her Forces, and what Value they
 ‘ ought to put upon a Nation, which eve-
 ‘ ry where lead Victory with it. I am,
 ‘ with the utmost Respect and Attach-
 ‘ ment, &c.

OXFORD.

The 3d of *September*, the Duke receiv’d
 a Letter from my Lord *Bolingbroke*, dated
August the 31st, at *Dunkirk*, to this Effect;
 ‘ That the perpetual and inconceivable
 ‘ Hurry, which he had been in the three
 ‘ Weeks past, must excuse him, if he had
 ‘ not paid his Duty to his Grace, as he
 ‘ ought to have done: That he took it for
 ‘ granted, his Grace had receiv’d from
 ‘ *Whitehall*, an Account of the Suspension
 ‘ of Arms by Sea and Land, which he con-
 ‘ cluded at *Fontainbleau*, and Her Maje-
 ‘ sty’s Orders thereupon. He had only to
 ‘ add, That he hop’d, a Peace would in-
 ‘ tervene before the Expiration of Four
 ‘ Months: That the Place he wrote from,
 ‘ we were perfectly Masters of; and it was
 ‘ for many Reasons absolutely necessary,
 ‘ that we should continue so of *Ghent* and
 ‘ *Bruges*. He ask’d Pardon for saying so
 ‘ much

‘ much to his Grace, who could not but
‘ see, better than he did, the Consequence
‘ of his own Acquisition.

On the 9th, the Duke acquainted the
Lord *Bolingbroke*, by Express, ‘ That he
‘ needed no other Argument to induce
‘ him, to do all that lay in his Power to-
‘ wards the keeping *Ghent* and *Bruges*, af-
‘ ter knowing, it was her Majesty’s Plea-
‘ sure, and for Her Interest, he should do
‘ so.

The Duke at the same time, gave his
Lordship an Account of a Conversation he
had, on the 7th, with Monsieur *Vegelin*,
who was sent by his Collegues, the States-
Deputies, to sound his Grace upon several
Points, relating to these Places. He ask’d
first, Whether the *English* Troops were to
stay at *Ghent* and *Bruges* the Winter, or
how long? To which the Duke answer’d,
He could not tell, but saw no Appearance
of their being withdrawn as yet.

He ask’d next, Whether the Duke would
consent to the States putting some of their
Troops into *Ghent*, to take care of their
Convoys, and *escorte* them to their Frontier
Garrisons? In answer to which, the Duke
told him, He thought himself oblig’d not
to suffer any Troops, but those of the Queen,
to come into that Town: However, he
had no Intention, by taking or keeping
Possession of that Place, to obstruct their
Convoys; the *Dutch* Troops might still
come

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come to the Counterscarp of the Town,
and receive whatever was to be carried to
the Camp, as had been practis'd ever since
Ghent was in our Hands. The Duke might
have added (would he have enter'd, at that
time, into threatnings of this kind) That
the securing this Town in our own Hands,
was far from being a just ground of Uneasi-
ness to the States; on the contrary, their
Safety depended upon it: Since, if the
Duke had not first taken Possession of *Ghent*,
the *French* wou'd certainly have made
themselves Masters of it, after the de-
feat at *Denain*; and consequently having
the entire Command of the *Schelde* and the
Lys, wou'd have starv'd the Confederate
Camp, by intercepting all the Convoys
from *Holland*.

The Deputies next Question was, Whe-
ther the Duke would let part of the *Danish*
Troops take their Winter Quarters in *Bru-*
ges, as they had done. ever since the reduc-
tion of that Place? To which the Duke an-
swer'd, That he could not admit of any
Troops whatever, besides those of the
Queen, either into *Ghent* or *Bruges*, till he
had Her Majesty's Orders for it.

He ask'd then, if the Duke did not think
of providing Winter-Forage for the Troops,
and taking that Charge off the Country?
The Duke told him, He would take care
the Queen's Troops should not want Forage,
and that due Regard should be had to the

Pre-

Prefervation and Good of the Country; which might, in some Measure, appear, by the Regulation of Forage furnish'd at present to the *English* Troops, which was considerably less in Proportion, than it was the last War, when Prince *Vaudemont* had Thirty five Thousand Men in this Neighbourhood, and the *French* were possess'd of a good Part of the Country, which now contributed: And the first Charge had been greatly lessen'd, by the Regiments sent to *Dunkirk*, and the Discharge of all the Artillery Horses, and all the Bread Waggon, except Thirty.

This was the Subject of the Conversation, the Duke had with Monsieur *Vegelin*, and which he thought fit to transmit to the Secretary. ' If it should give the Queen
' any Occasion of sending any new Orders,
' he was ready to execute them with the
' same Exactness, whice he had hitherto
' paid to all Her Majesty's Commands.
' What he had more to add was, To renew
' his Desire of knowing the Queen's Plea-
' sure, upon what he had formerly wrote
' to his Lordship, about making Provision
' for Winter-Quarters, it being now high
' Time to contract with the Undertakers:
' And, when Her Majesty would be plea-
' sed to order the Troops into their Quar-
' ters that he would act in every Respect
' conformable to her Orders, which Orders
' being accordingly sent, and the Duke's,
' behaving

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behaving agreeable thereto was the Occasion of his undergoing the Publick Censure, and which the *Dutch* were pleased to represent by depicting the Duke accoutred in his Armour with his Sword padlock'd to the Ground.

Thus have we brought the Account of his Grace's Actions down to the present Times; a Life replete with the greatest Vicissitudes of Fortune, thrown from the Height of Prosperity and the very Pinnacle of Honour and Glory, to live obscure in a small Village in a Foreign Country, yet even there rendering himself the Object of the Wishes and Admiration of his Neighbours, so that he rather deserve to be envied than blamed or pitied. Such hath been his Conduct, and such his Misfortunes, that he has attained what may be called the Acme or Pitch of human Happiness in one Respect, which is to have at least as many Friends as Enemies. However this we may learn from these Memoirs which are thus collected, That, however prosperous, however high a Statesman or General may stand in his Prince's and the People's Esteem, he is nevertheless liable by the least false Step to fall from all his Glory, and perhaps die in low Obscurity and Oblivion.

F I N I S.



